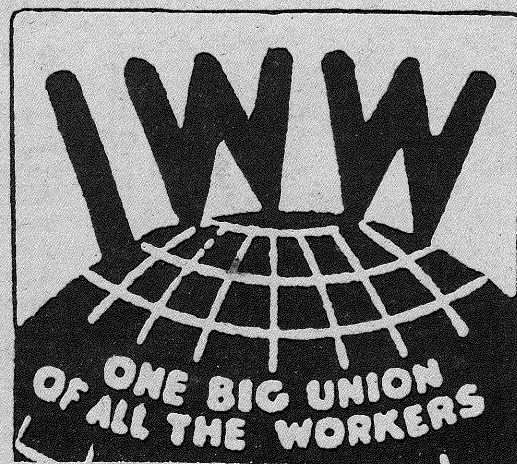


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**INDUSTRIAL WORKER**  
*Industrial Workers of the World*



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## Louisiana IWW Says: TEAR DOWN THE CONFEDERATE FLAG!

Activists in several southern states are striving to remove Confederate flags from public buildings. They want them down because these flags are a symbol of racism and tyranny.

The noxious banner was the emblem of the Confederate States of America, one of the most totalitarian and plutocratic governments the world has ever seen. A close contemporary equivalent is the Union of South Africa.

The Confederate government was formed in 1861 when eleven southern states seceded from the Union over the question of slavery. Prior to secession, the right to vote in the U.S. was largely restricted to male property-owners, a policy adopted by the Confederacy. In the South, however, only a tiny minority owned land, so only a numerically insignificant part of the population had any sort of democratic rights. Needless to say, the southern government was controlled entirely by rich, white males.

### The Slave Economy

Agriculture was the foundation of the mid-19th-century southern economy. The main crop was cotton and in the pre-mechanized economy, it was a labor-intensive commodity. Black slavery provided a source of cheap labor. White workers and small farmers were technically "free," but most couldn't meet the property requirements for voting. Socially and economically, they weren't much better off than the slaves.

A small middle-class of shopkeepers and professionals also existed in the South, but it was very weak. The smallest class of all, but also by far the most powerful and wealthiest, were the plantation-owners. The planters were the apex of the southern social pyramid. It was this tiny group of parasites that profited from slavery and controlled the economy and politics of the eleven seceding states.

### Class Struggle

While the socio-economic scheme worked rather well for the ruling elite, others were not so content with their stations in life. Countless Blacks ran away from slavery, and northern abolitionists set up the Underground Railroad to aid the escapees. Some abolitionists, such as John Brown, made more radical efforts to abolish slavery. Nat Turner, himself a slave, led a sizeable though unsuccessful slave revolt deep in the heart of Dixie. There were also some White abolitionists in the South.

Slavery, moreover, was economically as bad for the poor Whites as it was for the Blacks. Slave labor undermined the wages of free (White) labor. And since only the rich planters could afford good agricultural land, small farmers were forced into less fertile areas. The gulf between rich and poor southern Whites was enormous. In 1861, for example, nearly half of Louisiana's parishes voted (and don't forget voting requirements) against secession. Most of the "no" votes were from the parishes with few or no slaves—the parishes where the poor White farmers lived. However, since the plantation-owners controlled the state's economy and politics, the issue had already been decided.

In the Civil War the northern capitalists defeated the southern slaveholding aristocracy. Wage-slavery replaced chattel-slavery in the South. The old landed aristocrats were down, but not quite out. During Reconstruction the planters fought back with their new instrument of terror: the Ku Klux Klan. The slaves may

have been freed, but the KKK and its rich backers determined that Blacks should remain at the bottom of the southern socio-economic pyramid.

The symbol of the KKK reaction was—and is—the Confederate flag.

### Racist Mythologies

Emancipation of the slaves destroyed the economic foundation of the southern ruling class. To maintain their dominant position, the rulers needed to enlist the support of the poor Whites. Before emancipation the ruling elite could scarcely tolerate these White "untouchables," but now they realized that they could not regain their wealth and power without the poor Whites' votes and support. This is where the South's newly-created racial mythologies came into play—and most White southern workers swallowed the bait hook, line and sinker. From then on race relations in the South

(continued on page 4)

### BALTIMORE WOBS ORGANIZE BRANCH!

Baltimore Wobs submitted an IWW charter petition in late March, following months of energetic and widespread organizational and agitational activities. In addition to their Film and educational series, our Fellow Workers in Maryland are planning an enormous International Labor Day celebration/Song-Fest, at which they plan to show the "Wobbly" film and introduce several friends and fellow travellers to the OBU. For more news from Baltimore, see next month's paper!

### 1,663 Deported From Nevada Test Site

Mercury, NV - The number of civil resisters deported from the Nevada Test Site was 1663 at press deadline and rising as a ten-day campaign of direct-action for a Comprehensive Test Ban ground on. Only 16 were jailed or formally charged with any crime.

The struggle kicked off on Saturday, March 12 with a rally that drew 6000 to the main entrance gate. Speakers included Daniel and Patricia Ellsberg (of "Pentagon Papers" fame), William Sloane Coffin (SANE-FREEZE), Cesar Chavez of the United Farm Workers, and Joseph Lowery of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Before it was over, affinity groups trained in non-violence began pouring through the barbed-wire fence that surrounds the test site, and proceeded to "reclaim" it. Permits for this were issued by members of the Western Shoshone Nation who have land rights granted under the Treaty of Ruby Valley with the U.S. Government.

Protesters could be seen for miles being chased across the desert and over the mountains by helicopters and special dune-buggies. Some reached the Department of Energy's company town of Mercury, four miles away where only male scientists and employees live and work. All were bound by the wrists, separated by sex and placed in a giant holding pen. They were finally packed on thirty buses and deposited over 100 miles away in the streets of Tonopah, an isolated town. American Peace Test participants who attempted to follow the speeding buses in cars were ticketed and harassed by local authorities.

By Tuesday, 600 actionists were still present in the "Peace Camp" across Highway 95 from the Test Site. Direct actions and arrests were expected to continue throughout the week and swell on the weekend.

cont on page 12

## TEACHERS STRIKE IN LOUISIANA

Life for the working class of Louisiana has been quite difficult these last few years.

High unemployment, low pay and anti-union campaigns are a few of the obstacles that workers here face on a regular basis.

Unfortunately, most of the workers of Louisiana have remained passive in this situation and have taken no action for their own benefit. However, one segment of this state's working class has taken up direct action to improve pay and working conditions.

On January 19, 780 of the 1,050 teachers in Terrebonne Parish decided to stay home until their demands were met.

A representative of the striking teachers said that they have five demands—mainly concerning the restoration of salaries that were cut last year and pay increases—and that the strike would continue until those demands were addressed by the parish school board.

The strike lasted for two days and parish

officials are making attempts to rectify the teachers' grievances.

Four days later, in an unrelated strike, about 100 teachers in St. Tammany Parish took part in a "sick-out."

The demands of the St. Tammany teachers were similar to those of their Terrebonne fellow and sister workers. They struck for better pay, fringe benefits and better working conditions. A representative of the strikers said that if these state-wide problems weren't corrected, there would be an attempt to organize all the teachers of Louisiana.

Several weeks later, that state's new governor, "Redneck" Roemer, released a commission report stating that Louisiana's educational system isn't up to par with the rest of the nation.

The report said that Louisiana spends less on education than most southern states and that our teachers are some of the lowest paid in the nation. However, Roemer is a

fiscal conservative, among other things (officially, he's still the representative from Louisiana's Fourth Congressional District and voted to send military aid to the Contras) and he has announced that he is going to slash state spending. Educational funds are at the top of his slashing list.

Faced with the "cut social funding" men-

talities of the new governor, the teachers of Louisiana are going to have a fight on their hands. And the only thing that may save this state's educational system is a One Big Union of Teachers.

Ben E. Trant  
Shreveport, Louisiana

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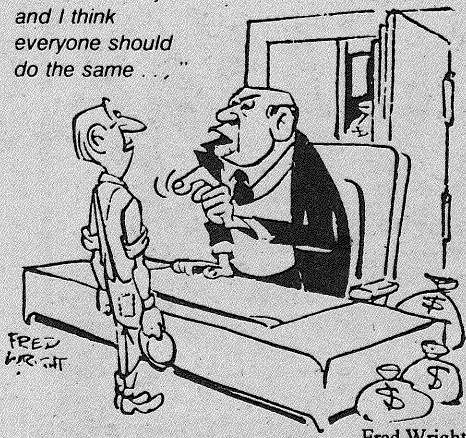
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## EDITORIALS

NONE GENUINE WITHOUT THIS SIGNATURE  
*Industrial Workers of the World*

"I'm cutting my salary  
to \$150,000 a year  
and I think  
everyone should  
do the same..."



Fred Wright

RADICAL LABOR,  
SOUTHERN STYLE

For 125 years now the call for a "New South" has gone out from the pulpits, political barbecues and fairgrounds of Dixie. Too often the appeals for change have been dominated by those who have nothing to offer but more non-union factories, more military bases, more nuclear power plants, more scarring of the land through strip mining and crosscutting of forests, more Chamber of Commerce boosterism and more time-sharing condominiums along the coasts.

But there is another Southern tradition which has tried to build a truly New South and a new world. That tradition stretches from Gabriel Prosser to Angelina Grimke, from Nat Turner to Lucy Parsons, from Covington Hall to Memphis Minnie, from H.L. Mitchell to Rosa Parks.

Dreaming of a South without slavery, without exploitation of labor, without lynchings, without color bars, without male supremacy and without war has been a dangerous enterprise throughout Southern history. Carl Degler, in introducing his book on the "other South" has allowed that the dissenters he describes have been "losers" in the past. But the tradition has continued, nourished by heroism and by an awareness of the tremendous losses to the South which would come if dissenters capitulated.

As this special issue shows, the IWW has contributed vitally to some of the most outstanding campaigns for a New South, especially in Louisiana and Texas. Direct action tactics—from slave revolts, to the Black general strike during the Civil War, to the Wobbly-led struggles of the Brotherhood of Timber Workers, to the campaigns of the Southern Tenant Farmers Union, to the sit-ins—have always been at the center of the best of Southern protest.

Today Wobbly groups exist throughout the South. So do masses of Southerners victimized by scab industries, by racism and by a ruling class which equates "progress" with profits. Speed now the day when the "other South" will stop being cast as "losers" and when a real New South will emerge.

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ARE YOU IN THE IWW?  
IF NOT, WHY NOT?

As part of the IWW's ongoing efforts to renew militant, class-struggle unionism throughout the land, several thousand extra copies of this issue of the *Industrial Worker* are being circulated among working men and women in the deep South.

All those who belong to the wage-earning class—employed and unemployed, Black and white, male and female, native-born and immigrant—are welcome in the IWW. Aware that wage-slavery is the principal cause of poverty, war, crime, disease, discrimination and environmental devastation, we are trying to build One Big Union of All Workers to do away with this wasteful and shameful system of exploitation and greed.

We urge each and all of you who agree with this aim to join us today and to help us organize for this great Cause.

In particular we urge our Southern readers to check the Directory of IWW Branches and Delegates on page 11. IWW locals are active in Atlanta, Georgia; Shreveport, Louisiana; Baltimore, Maryland; and Columbia, South Carolina; and IWW Delegates are on hand in Florida and Texas as well. All these IWW Branches and Delegates are equipped with plenty of IWW literature and membership cards, and are ready to sign up any and all workers at any time.

If you want to help make this planet a good place to live, contact the IWW Branch or Delegate nearest you. Or write to IWW headquarters for more information.

Join the IWW today! Freedom Now!

BILL WYNN:  
A TOTAL LOSS

We checked six and a half dictionaries and a slightly water-damaged thesaurus to find the correct technical term to describe William Wynn, the slimy, half-baked, two-faced, backstabbing, strikebreaking president of the United (?) Food and Commercial Workers, who is currently fishing for the top-paying position at the head of the Antiquated Fallacies Legion/Conglomeration of Inept Obfuscators (AFL-CIO). The best we came up with was "ignominious twit," but we readily concede that the old four-letter stand-bys, scab and fink, will do nicely for everyday discourse.

We were led to these arduous lexicographical researches after an incident on the picket-line last Tuesday, when an unthinking fellow worker happened to call Wynn a "pumpkinhead." Vehemently we protested this gross abuse of the language. No self-respecting pumpkin, we pointed out, ever betrayed, all the principles of pumpkinhood, or sold out its brother and sister pumpkins. No pumpkin elected to responsible office ever degraded that office for the sole purpose of persecuting down-and-out pumpkins and making shady backroom deals with the avowed enemies of pumpkins.

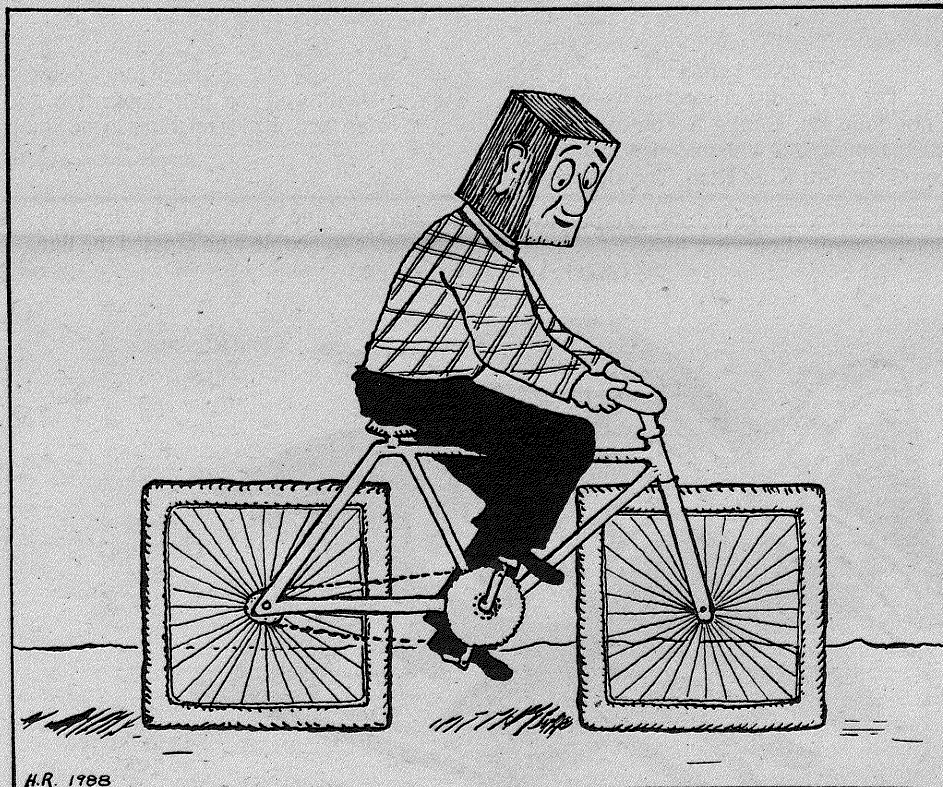
The plain truth is that union-busting Bill Wynn has proved time and again that he is absolutely incapable of rising to the decent and honorable level of pumpkinhead.

The moral? BOYCOTT HORMEL!

X322339

## MR. BLOCK SAYS:

"In America, if you work real hard, you'll reach your goal."



H.R. 1988

Hal Rammel

\* EDUCATION \* ORGANIZATION \* EMANCIPATION

INDUSTRIAL  
WORKER

ONE UNION ONE ENEMY

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## LETTER FROM AUSTRALIA

January, 1988

Greetings, Fellow Workers!

My name is Pat Mackie. Born in New Zealand, 30th, October 1914. True name, Maurice Patrick Murphy.

I first became a Wobbly in 1934. I "jumped" (off) a ship in the Delaware River (opposite the DuPont works), swam ashore, ducked and dived, until I found a railroad switching yard. Then, fired by my very youthful admiration for "the American Way," I proceeded to jump aboard the nearest boxcar. Just got a hand to the floor of the car and some sort of iron strap on the outside ready to spring aboard, when a bloody great size-10 boot steps very hard on my hand and I'm forced to spring upwards into the car, dragging my meager wardrobe with me.

"Where's your card?" a voice booms out above me. (I could dramatize this quite a bit, make a good story out of it, but this is only a letter—not a *Reader's Digest* placebo.) I was asked for my union ticket—and by god I had one! I was a member of the Printers and Typographical Workers Union of Wellington, New Zealand.

"Where the hell is that?" All was well when another K.O.R. (Red Card, Knight of the Road) remembered that quite recently on the Pacific Coast a union ship from New Zealand had arrived in San Francisco during the Pacific Coast Seamen's Strike and the crew refused to let scabs unload the ship and it finally had to return to New Zealand with the same cargo! So I *earned* my red K.O.R. Card on the basis of my union interest at the tender (????) age of 20 years. My ability to "bring home the bacon" in the stopovers secured my place in the Working Class Hall of Fame, the IWW.

was elected Picket Captain of Piers 1 to 34 Manhattan, 1946 Sept., when we defied Truman, the shipowners, and the U.S. Navy threat, when not even a bloody rowboat moved on New York harbor (Seafarers' International Union of New York).

I trod the decks of 50 "Park Line" freighters, built in Vancouver, BC, organizing kids recruited from the prairies by the malicious anti-worker Canadian Government, plus a hell of priests, parsons, finkherders, and phony political piccards, all with an axe to grind which had nothing to do with pork chops for the seamen. But we ended up with a contract.

In Vancouver, BC, two of us in three months started an organizing drive on the Canadian Pacific Railway (British Columbia Coast Steamships) and forced an NLRB election on the toughest anti-union outfit in North America. The ballot paper consisted of four choices:

No Union; the Inland Boatmen's Union, CIO (a Communist-controlled outfit of previous little consequence, who suddenly directed its top U.S. organizers into the fray); the Brotherhood of Railway something-or-others, AFL, a nearly-defunct outfit of pisspot jugglers (Ship's Stewards); and our outfit, the British Columbia Seamen's Union, AFL.

From 5000 eligible voters we won the ballot with the highest ever recorded NLRB election—93.3 percent!

Apart from that I have been able to talk the crews of many dozens of ships all over the world to weld the bloody ships to the docks over crook conditions and wages of the profit-hungry shipowners.

In 1964/65 at Mount Isa, a mining town belonging to the American Smelting & Refining Corp. (ASARCO) in the state of Queensland, Australia I was elected leader of a bread-and-butter beef that went on for eight months. For eight long months a whole town of 17,000 people, away out in the bloody wilderness, fought off the Australian Federal Government and the Queensland State Government, with their "Special Branch" police. The State Government declared a "State of Emergency" and confined myself and our Disputes Committee members to our homes for certain hours of the day (in order to try and induce scabs to go to work).

We won the backing of the entire Australian Trade Union Movement (Australian Council of Trade Unions), and cost Australia 53 million Pounds in lost revenue, etc. etc.

I traveled extensively addressing unions, public meetings, drumming up support and with the help of the union movement and general sympathizers we were able to pay our locked-out workers the same amount as they had been getting for wages!

It was all made possible because of Wobbly tactics. No bloody politics or religion in the Union Hall—and we fought ASARCO into the ground by NOT GOING ON STRIKE! An old Wobbly in the SIU (New York) had taught me to look very closely at the contract and find loopholes to kick the company in the ass, before resorting to strike and empty pockets. He said, "Keep smiling at the bastards, keep working and taking their money, hang onto your jobs so that they can't use scabs and all the while accidentally sabotage shit out of them!"

In Mount Isa we did just that. We looked very closely at the Industrial and Conciliation Act Award covering our terms of working conditions (contract), worked strictly to the terms of it, and cut production by two-thirds, which meant millions of dollars (pounds, then, in Australia) in lost profits.

Anyway—it's a long story. My university-trained wife has written a terrific book about it exposing all the bloody conspiracies of the Establishment in *The Great Mount Isa Dispute* (The yellow press always refers to it as a "strike"), and right now, I am about to take off and do a lot of talking to the entire trade union movement of Australia to get support to publish it.

Enclosed please find a Bank Draft for \$600 U.S. I got it in October so by now I owe another year. Please stamp my book for this year and I will send the money when I get some in a couple of months time. I am on the Old Age Pension and a bit short at the moment. I am quite strong and healthy but you never know in this violent world and I want to be sure to die a fully financial Wobbly and fuck 'em all!

Fraternally,  
Pat Mackie

P.S. I was Australian IWW Secretary-Treasurer April 1, 1972 to December 31, 1972, Credential 10 AA 72. GEB Member Credential 8-GO-73, January 8, 1973 for the year 1973. Credentials issued by Chicago Office.

I have done my bit in Industrial Struggle. I





## Learning Center Charges Multiply NLRB Again Investigating Anti-Union Activity

The National Labor Relations Board, for the second time in six months, is investigating charges of anti-union activity against workers employed at the Berkshire Learning Center.

The first investigation was initiated last September when FW John Silvano filed a complaint that he had been fired as an adolescent care worker because of his union activity. At the time, he was corresponding secretary of the IWW shop at the school. One of the issues the dispute generated was whether or not the school had recognized the union as the bargaining agent for its employees.

The NLRB investigation was terminated in early November because of an out-of-court settlement reached between the school and the union. Under the terms of the settlement agreement, BLC recognized the IWW as the exclusive representative of all full and part time adolescent care workers. Specific guidelines were provided for an interim grievance procedure which outlined a three-step system for handling grievances, including optional binding arbitration if no resolution could be reached. Also in the settlement were provisions for union orientation of new employees, an informational union meeting to be held on school grounds, and the payment of \$5000 relief to John Silvano, who has declined reinstatement at the center. Silvano has donated \$2500 of this amount to the BLC job branch.

Since the signing of the settlement agreement however, the situation has deteriorated. Union members have been routinely harrassed by the administration, resulting in the resignation of several workers. Two of those who did not quit have been fired. BLC has subsequently brought in non-union workers to take the place of those who have left. These non-union "interns" (several of whom have been recruited from as far as North Carolina) are provided with room and board by the school. Some act as informants, prying information out of employees, then reporting back to the administration. The school's administration has effectively set up a climate of fear and intimidation in an attempt to break the union.

In addition to these flagrant union-busting maneuvers, BLC is denying union representatives access to school grounds, under the pretext that it will "affect the students". BLC administrators are also continually making slanderous remarks about union officials to both workers and students. Obviously, the settlement agreement is little more than a piece of paper to the bosses at BLC. They have made virtually no attempt to abide by its provisions, and openly defy the National Labor Relations Act. As an initial response the union has requested an NLRB investigation.

On February 10th, and again on February 27th, FW John Silvano (now delegate-secretary of the branch) filed a number of unfair labor practice charges, alleging that the school had:

- interfered with the administration of the union, thus preventing it from meeting its statutory obligation to represent its workers.

- failed to recognize the union's designated representatives.

- denied a union member's request that a union representative be present at a disciplinary hearing.

- discriminated against union members with respect to promotions.

- attempted to enter into a private bargaining agreement with an individual member of the union.

- "intimidated, coerced and disciplined" a union member for using the agreed upon grievance procedure.

- discharged a union member because of union activity.

- violated provision 7 of the settlement agreement by denying an employee access to a union meeting.

- violated provision 8 of the settlement agreement by superceding the grievance procedure.

- denied union representatives access to the grounds of the Berkshire Learning Center.

- failed to bargain in good faith with the union.

Despite the strong-arm tactics being employed by the school bosses, the union is determined to put an end to BLC's unfair labor practices. Regardless of the NLRB's decision, this fight will not stop until BLC employees are assured of fair treatment, decent working conditions, and the right to support this union without fear of repercussions.



Wobs at the new Pittsfield, MA. IWW Hall form strategy to fight union-busting tactics at Berkshire Learning Center.

## GILBERT MERS' MEMOIR TO BE PUBLISHED

This October, the University of Texas will be publishing Fellow Worker Gilbert Mers' autobiography, tentatively titled *Working the Waterfront*. The book was to be published originally by Miles & Weir, publishers of Singlejack Books, but in order to expedite publication, the manuscript was given to the University of Texas Press.

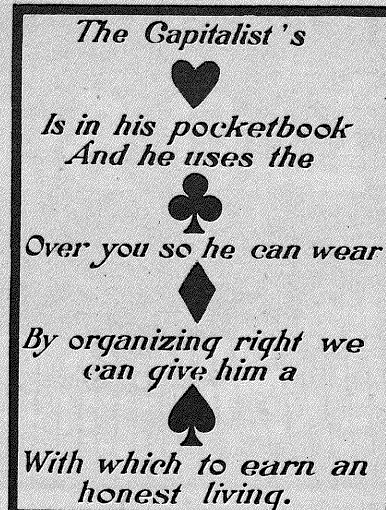
Stan Weir calls Mers "one of the outstanding organizers in the modern labor movement...one of the best there is."

A life-long Wob and member of IWW Marine Transport Workers Industrial Union 510, Mers was a key figure in one of the most important labor disputes involving maritime workers in the 1930s. He was a key organizer of the Maritime Federation of the Gulf, an organization of rank-and-file members of the maritime unions, created as an offshoot of the Maritime Federation of the Pacific that was formed during the 1934-36 strikes in Pacific coast ports.

Weir also claims that Mers is probably the "best slingshot artist in the world," but neither Weir nor Mers will say more than that at this point, telling us that if we want to know more, we can look it up in the book...

- BWM

## Join the IWW!



## YOUNG'S NIGHT THOUGHTS

*The clerk at the unemployment office said, "You look familiar." I said, "Sure, I've been here lots of times. How you been?"*

*"Kinda slow around here—not bad, can't complain."*

*I asked if there were any openings on the other side of the counter.*

*"They're laying us off too," she replied. "Unemployment's slow."*

*I told her I was doing the best I could to keep her working.*

Bob Young

# ON THE (UNEMPLOYMENT) LINE

I'm back in the unemployment line. It's still long and still feels like limbo. It still gets its longest in December when the auto plants pull scam layoffs so that the state rather than the corporations pay the holiday pay.

Two guards work in the unemployment office. They wander about in their blue rent-a-cop uniforms telling us to "straighten the line." They tidy us up as if spacing ourselves without instructions would be too much autonomy - too much control of our own lives.

On the floor in front of the counter where the unemployment clerks work there is a faded painted line. It is, I think, the "toeing line." Crossing it cost me plenty.

It takes an hour and a half or two hours of waiting to reach the front of the line. A woman speculated on bringing her kids. "Let them get bored and wander around. If there were enough little kids in here going wild we'd be out of here fast."

Behind her a large man told his story. He'd been a union rep in an auto factory till one grievance meeting where things got out of hand. He claims the foreman threw the first punch. The other union witness testified for management. "Should I climb over the counter and hurt these people for not giving me my checks?" he asked. No one said not to. "No, I'm going to the union hall and kill them sell-out motherfuckers so they can't get anyone else fired for standing up to them."

"Maybe if we gave our kids beans for lunch first and then brought them here," suggested the woman.

When the person in front of me was done I walked up to the next available clerk, who frowned from behind the bulletproof plastic. "I didn't say you could step up here."

"Oh," I said, "I just thought I'd save you the bother."

"No. I mean it. You can't cross the line until I say you can," pencil tapping, "I might walk away from the counter. You might have to wait."

Like maybe that would be new around here? I kept quiet. Nothing to gain or lose arguing with this ornery bureaucrat. I just answered the questions ("are you back to work have you had any earnings in the past two weeks are you able and available seeking work"). Then the clerk slid a form I'd never seen before across the counter.

"Fill this out and bring it with you next time you come here."

"Because I stepped over the line?" I asked.

"No, the computer says that." Which it did. But someone told it what to say. Someone also has to tell the computer to cut the check. Mine was twenty minutes late that day. I'd crossed the line, you know.

The unemployment system - designed to keep us in line, divided and vulnerable - is a response to people who crossed the line.

Many thousands of unemployed people responded to the depression of the '30s by organizing. Large groups would march to a relief agency and militantly demand money or food for a family or would gather in front of an apartment building when the sheriff was due to show up with eviction orders. If the sheriff put someone's belongings in the street the crowd would put them back in the apartment. Eventually sheriffs learned not to bother and in some cities the entire eviction system was shut down for months. Less successful were marches on Washington and attempts to form national organizations.

None of this was taken too kindly by the elite. In numerous instances corporations, the law'n'order system, and white supremacist organizations combined to violently suppress workers.

In March 1932 the unemployed of southwest Detroit marched on the Ford Motor Company's giant River Rouge manufacturing complex demanding jobs and food. City and corporate cops attacked. Four marchers were killed, sixty wounded.

I took the paper back to the unemployment office. I waited, filled out some more forms. Waited. A bureaucrat administered "job counseling."

"Anything that is a reason why you cannot get a job is a reason for which you can be disqualified from unemployment. If you say you want more money in your next job than you got in your last job then you don't qualify. If you have daycare problems you don't qualify. If you don't have a car you don't qualify. And we expect you to lower your expectations as time goes on."

That's difficult. My last job was a low-paying service job but it was gratifying and had flexible hours and I could walk to work. Since then I have moved to a different city with



Fred Wright

different costs and conditions. What was tolerable there could be suicide here.

As everyone says, "They want us to take bullshit minimum-wage jobs but five dollars an hour doesn't get it. No one can live on the shit that's out there." We jump through the hoops and fill out the forms and then we smile a funny little smile and walk fast out of there when we finally do get our checks. But it's not enough.

We resist as individuals in tiny ways to preserve sanity. We know five dollars is "minimal" and should be the "legal minimum." But that is not enough.

Sometimes in the line when the guard gets rude to one person there is a group response that stops the guard (who walks away but will do the same things later to different people) and defends the individual. But that is not enough, either. We need to make that resistance just as immediate to our everyday lives but more conscious, much larger and more aggressive.

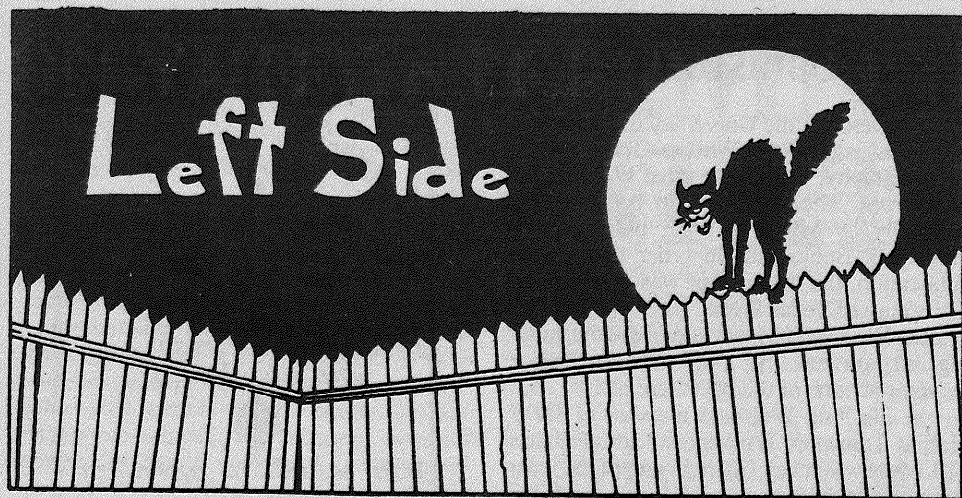
One lesson from the '30s unemployed organizing stands out: organizing must be from the base up, formed in practice and dialog among the participants. At best, we can gather each other, some tools and means of communicating. And if there are enough of us, bold and together, maybe we can cross the line and make some history.

- Shop Rat (Detroit)



Fred Wright





A couple of weeks ago I was talking with a friend who I don't see very often, due to our places of residences being far apart. As a kid his father's farm was lost to the finance company and he had never lived in his "own" home since. He had also made arrangements with a medical school to use his body for medical research upon his departure from this mortal coil as he does not believe in conventional funerals, cemeteries and all that bull. He is now having thoughts about backing out of his agreement with the medical school and opting for a conventional burial, his reasoning being that at least when he is dead he can then have his own plot of land. I told said friend not to feel too bad about not having one's "own" piece of property and that if he needed any further comforting words, my Uncle Hornplanter would be more than glad to commiserate with him.

In truth the illusion of "property," for the most of us two-legged denizens of this Planet, is nothing more than an illusion. Uncle Hornplanter can well testify that there is no such thing as "inalienable property rights." True, one of us may hold a deed to a piece of real estate with a building on it for which one has the privilege of paying exorbitant taxes instead of exorbitant rent, but one can be kicked out of one's house for not paying taxes every bit as easy as for not paying rent. And even if one pays one's taxes without delay, one can still be told to move if it has been decided that said piece of "property" is needed for some project vital to the "national interest."

You and I, gentle reader, whether we hand our money over to some private landlord or some politician, we have to fork over if we wish to maintain a roof over our heads. The only ones who can legitimately lay claim to owning "property" are those who own a government or, read: the machinery of production.

Somehow among many of us illusions persist as none of us are free from the opiate of illusion. One young man in particular has found that the ladder to success is reserved for certain people. This young man opted for a career in one of Freedomland's most prestigious institutions, the Federal Bureau of Investigation. This young man has all the talent, aptitude and qualifications for belonging to the nation's top police force. The only trouble is that he is Black and to make matters worse, his wife is White.

After having successfully graduated from the FBI Academy in Virginia he was assigned to the FBI office in Omaha, Nebraska in the heart of Freedomland, where he was the only Black agent. Immediately he became the target of harassment on the part of his White "colleagues." He found his desk facing away from all the other desks with melted chocolate poured into the receiver of his desk telephone. His signature was forged on application forms for insurance policies covering death and dismemberment and burial costs. Among other indignities was the placing in his mail slot of a photograph of a bruised face of a Black man, and seeing "don't come" scrawled across invitations to office parties. The worst indignity was the defacement of a photo of his son and daughter that he had on his desk. He came in one afternoon and saw the photograph laying face down on his desk, while listening to the snickering of his colleagues. Righting the picture up, he found that someone had taped the picture of an ape over the face of his son.

The agent in charge of the Omaha FBI



"We all have to make sacrifices! So WE are going to sacrifice YOUR health and safety!"

office upon being questioned about these incidents replied that those were just "healthy" good-humored pranks done in the "esprit de corps." Lest one be led to believe that such goings-on could only happen in rural backward Omaha, his problems did not abate on his transfer to the Chicago FBI office. In sophisticated and cosmopolitan Chicago he not only received more of the same, but with much less subtlety. There were anonymous missives promising bodily harm to himself as well as sexual assault to his wife. His wife was subjected to obscene phone calls on their home telephone.

The reader must be reminded that this harassment toward a fellow operative was perpetrated not by your ordinary run-of-the-mill cop, the type of loser who becomes a flatfoot because he has no aptitude for anything else. These babies have to have university-level diplomas before they are accepted as FBI operatives. One cannot help but wonder at the parallel comparison with the SS Stormtroopers and the upper echelon of the Nazi hierarchy. While one level performed all the brutal acts, the other level directed those acts, but here in Freedomland we do things a little more democratically.

None of us are free from our illusions, including this Black FBI agent who is still fighting to stay within the ranks of the Bureau. Despite all blather about equal access regardless of race or creed, out of 9,500 FBI agents throughout the country, less than 9 percent of them are Black or "Hispanic." The Bureau still remains the redneck outfit of the days of the late unlamented J. Edgar Hoover who put more energy into investigating groups such as the Black Panthers than into the syndicate or Cosa Nostra that dealt in murder, hard drugs, prostitution and what have you. It was J. Edgar who was doing his damndest to dry-gulch Martin Luther King while ordering disruptive tactics on any minority organizations.

Out of all the FBI's field offices in the country, only one, in Philadelphia, is headed by a Black, and it can be accurately speculated the only thing black about this individual is his posterior. The dearth of minorities in this prestigious law-enforcement agency is more than compensated by the disproportionate numbers of Blacks and "Hispanics" who died in Vietnam or are below poverty level today.

But never mind, minorities have long been accustomed to receiving the short end of the stick. The irony remains that while organized crime keeps bringing hard drugs across our sacrosanct borders, some of the sinister groups that presently merit the FBI's close scrutiny are the Council of Churches of New York, the Maryknoll Sisters of Chicago, the Southern Christian Leadership of Atlanta, the Tucson Committee for Human Rights in Latin America, the various chapters of the Committee for Human Rights in Latin America, the various chapters of the Committee In Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES) and the Cleveland Branch of the United Auto Workers. Despite the fact that local officials have determined that the Tucson Committee for Human Rights "has always been a non-violent" educational organization, FBI headquarters in D.C. said the investigation should be kept open as they might be a "front organization" for CISPES.

The aforementioned seemingly disparate groups have one thing in common and that is opposition to U.S. involvement in Central America. The spirit of General Custer lives on.

Nevertheless none of us are free from illusions and yours truly is one of the most incorrigible of illusionaries. He persists in the illusion that eventually enough of our species will wake up to the fact that far too few of our number are making far too many important decisions and that it is high time we do some "investigating" of our own. Our two-legged breed has caused the extinction of other species and we are too uncomfortably close to the time we are effecting our own extinction.

—C.C. Redcloud

## CONFEDERATE FLAG...

(continued from page 1)

were dominated by the KKK, segregation and Jim Crow.

The most important myth was that Blacks would undermine the wages of White labor. Because the racial division of the southern working class proved to be economically and politically beneficial to the ruling class, this myth was made to appear a reality: To this day, Blacks earn less than Whites. The long-term effects of this myth are obvious: Workers who don't trust each other aren't likely to organize together.

That basic myth was embellished with fabricated horror stories of crazed Blacks on rampages of crime. Blacks became the scapegoat of capitalism's southern white society. Countless innocent Blacks have been lynched by the KKK's forces of "law'n'order." And waving symbolically over all the terror has been the hideous Confederate flag.

Indeed, whitewashing the Confederacy is yet another myth created to dupe white southern workers. The proto-fascist Confederate government, upholder of slavery and oppressor of Blacks and Whites alike, became the shameful symbol of "southern pride."

### Haul It Down!

Today the Confederate flag is carried in all KKK and neo-nazi parades. It is also flown over public buildings, including universities, throughout the South. Some of those who defend the flying of this flag in public places downplay its racist symbolism and pretend that it is only a matter of "historical significance." This is ridiculous. Hitler's swastika flag also has a "historical significance," but no German city today would take pride in waving it over its schools and parks.

Let us make no mistake: The Confederate government was an undemocratic, racist, plutocratic, oppressive regime. Its flag is the symbol of racism, bigotry, exploitation and ignorance of historical fact. That flag is an

### CALLING ALL WOBS! Conference in Colorado

The Colorado Wobs are putting together a People's Economics Conference to celebrate International Labor Day. The conference will be held at the University of Colorado in Denver Friday April 29th thru Sunday May 1st. Events will begin Friday night with a keynote speech by Joyce Kornbluh on the relevance of democratic unionism for the 1980s and beyond.

On Saturday there will be a series of seminars dealing with important social problems. A coordinator will talk briefly about the issue at hand and then open the floor for discussion.

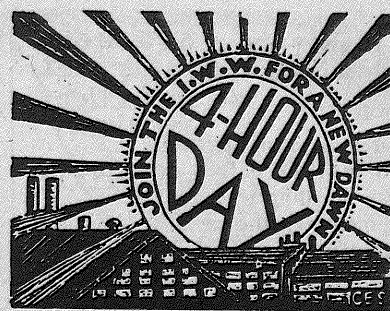
The following seminars are tentatively set: Bill Tabb from the University of Oregon on alienation in the workplace and the classroom; Suzanne Helburn from the University of Colorado, Denver on the economics of sexism; Hermon George Jr. from the University of Northern Colorado on the economics of racism (he will also conduct a seminar on the Rainbow Coalition); John McCamant from the University of Denver on the effect of economic systems on environmental systems; and Kim Moody from Labor Notes on current problems in the labor movement.

On Saturday night Cathy Howell from the Bolivian Education Project will present a slide-show on community and labor-organizing efforts in La Paz, a movie on the March for Life by miners in 1986, and she will discuss what's going on in Bolivia generally.

On Sunday there will be a series of workshops focusing on self-empowerment strategies to solve today's social problems. The workshops tentatively include: Don Krasniewski from the Coalition for the Homeless on organizing cooperatives; H. L. Mitchell from the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union will discuss his experiences organizing across racial lines; and Lowell May and Stan Weir will lead a discussion on new directions for the labor movement.

The essence of this conference is workingclass democracy, meaning that those who participate are the ones who make up the substance of the conference. The significance then, of your participation cannot be overemphasized. Indeed, your participation is essential to our moving forward toward solutions to these problems! For more info drop me a line at P.O. Box 2463 Denver, CO., 80201. In Solidarity!

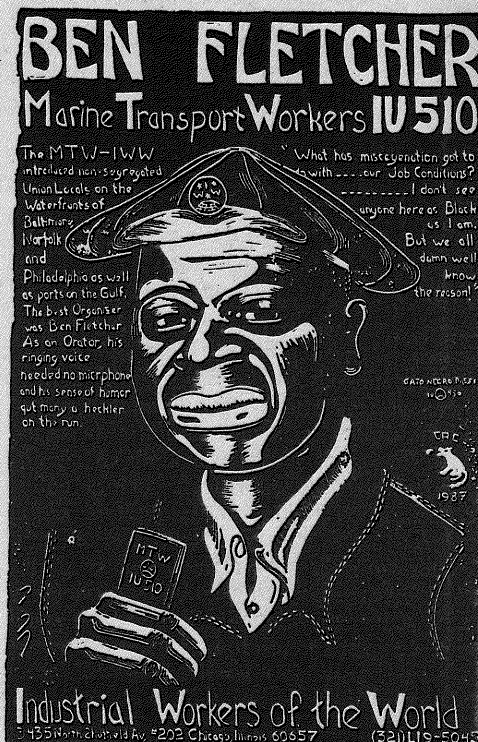
Pat Moore



insult to both Blacks and Whites, to all working men and women, to all who believe in freedom and equality.

There is only one thing to do with the Confederate flag: HAUL THE DAMN THING DOWN!

Ben Trant  
Shreveport, Louisiana



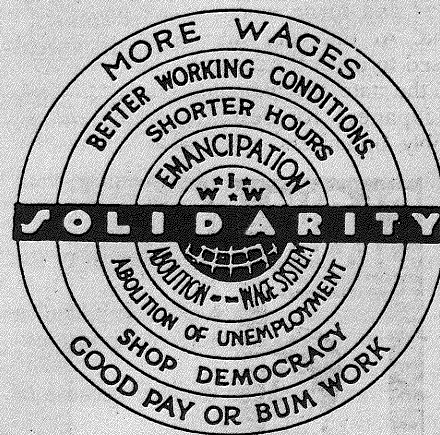
### BEN FLETCHER POSTERS AVAILABLE

At one point during the sentencing of the class-war prisoners in Chicago in 1918 - according to one report - Ben Fletcher said in a voice loud enough to be heard clearly throughout the entire courtroom that the judge was using bad grammar. Bill Haywood turned and asked what he meant, and Fletcher replied: "His sentences are too long!"

One of the best organizers the IWW has ever known, Fletcher was especially instrumental in bringing together workers of different races, despite the bosses' characteristic attempts to crush worker solidarity by fostering race antagonisms. This was perhaps the key factor behind his successful work with the Philadelphia Local of the Marine Transport Workers Union, whose membership at one point reached 4000, half of whom were Black.

Old-time Wobs such as Art Nurse and Sam Dolgoff remember him as a great friend and fellow worker, a fine speaker and sharp humorist.

Carlos Cortez's Ben Fletcher poster - one of a series of commemorative IWW posters which include Joe Hill and Lucy Parsons - is once again available in a limited supply from the Chicago office for \$10 postpaid.



THINK IT OVER.  
JOIN THE  
**ONE BIG UNION**  
FIGHT FOR THE FULL PRODUCT  
OF YOUR LABOR



# AN INJURY TO ONE: IWW ORGANIZING IN THE DEEP SOUTH

"If it is against the law," Bill Haywood argued in 1912 before Louisiana timber workers deciding whether to hold an integrated meeting, "the law should be broken." Haywood, the Mississippi-born Wobbly Covington Hall and the record of labor militancy by Black lumber workers convinced whites in the Brotherhood of Timber Workers (BTW) that defiance of Jim Crow and of lynch law was an effective and necessary form of direct action. The *Industrial Worker* headlined: MIRACLE OF THE NEW SOUTH. Further miracles would follow. In summer of 1912, the IWW-affiliated BTW held an integrated picnic to celebrate the anniversary of the end of slavery. Whites and Blacks cooperated in a campaign of destruction of property at anti-union workplaces. The Black workers, Hall wrote, "say voodoo is loose in the timber belt, while the Jacksonian Christians say God is making the lumber kings pay for their injustice to the workers."

For the next two years, before gun thugs, vigilantes, blacklisting, trials, deportations of leaders, race-baiting and attacks on free speech destroyed the BTW, Southern Wobblies built a union which forged solidarity among not only Blacks and whites but also some Indian and Mexican workers. One Wobbly observed, "There are white men, there are Negro men and there are Mexican men but no 'niggers,' 'greasers,' or 'white trash'" in the BTW. Local tenant farmers not only supported the BTW but joined it. The union enrolled working class women as members and, recognizing the importance of the unpaid labor of women in the home, decided that women affected by sawmill strikes, but not working in the mills, should have a vote in strike ballots.

The BTW is but one example of the ways in which a commitment to revolutionary industrial unionism made Southern Wobblies freedom fighters on a host of other fronts as well. In 1913, Mary White Ovington, a founder of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, wrote that only one organization other than the NAACP had shown that it did "care about full rights of the Negro." That organization, praised by Ovington because it "attacks Negro segregation," was the IWW. Much of this reputation was made in the South, where Hall argued that there were no shortcuts toward a new society unless racism was confronted. At a time when many, including a fair share of Southern members of the Socialist Party, refrained from attacking white supremacy because to do so cost respectability and votes, Hall wrote that "workers, when they organize, must be colorblind...solidarity first, and revolutionary action afterwards." Not only in the lumber fields of Texas and Louisiana but on the docks in Galveston, Baltimore and especially New Orleans, Wobblies applied Hall's advice. While the AFL, much criticized by the IWW for its segregation, refused in New Orleans to admit delegates representing Black unions of waterfront workers, the IWW in 1910 formed the integrated United Labor Council, whose meetings were alternately chaired by Black and white workers. Hall, instrumental in establishing the United Labor Council, had six years before been an Adjutant General of the United Sons of Confederate Veterans. He would soon sign his letters, "Yours for the liberty of man, woman and child, regardless of creed, race or color."

The IWW similarly resisted the anti-Japanese hysteria which the AFL both accepted and made worse in southern California. At the very time when the AFL pressed to drive the Japanese farm workers from the state, the *Industrial Worker* praised the Japanese for resisting farm bosses. Wobbly organizers, even when unable to

organize many Japanese farm workers into the IWW, realized that effective ethnic/class organizations existed among the Japanese, who were, one Wobbly maintained, "past masters in the art of bring John Farmer to his knees." Rather than seeking exclusion of immigrants, some Wobblies hoped that white workers would learn from the Japanese. They reminded nativist workers that "a yellow skin is to be preferred a thousand times to a yellow heart."

Nor did borders or racism restrict the revolutionary commitment of Southern Wobblies when they looked toward Mexican



immigrants or toward Mexico itself. The IWW supported the spontaneous 1912 strike of Mexican onion pickers in South Texas. In the wake of that strike's defeat, IWW organizer Charles Cline, a former BTW member, was arrested after a deputy sheriff was killed in fighting which occurred when Cline joined with Chicanos in attempting to cross the Rio Grande to fight on the side of the Mexican Revolution. Hall, briefly outside the IWW at this time, led a Wobbly/Socialist defense effort which succeeded in reducing the long prison terms of Cline, of the Chicano militant Jesus Rangel and others arrested in the raid. More broadly, Hall and other former members of the Wobbly-influenced Renters' Union, became outspoken supporters of the Mexican Revolution—and especially of Pancho Villa and Emiliano Zapata—in Texas. Sometimes, as James Green's superb *Grass-Roots Socialism* shows, Hall even allowed himself to hope romantically that the Mexican Revolution would spill into the South and arouse "rebel" tenant farmers to fight their own landlords.

Part of the attraction of Zapata was that he modeled some of his revolutionary plans on the ideas of the anarchist Ricardo Flores Magon's "land and liberty" program. Wobblies had, in 1912, played an important role in fighting with Magon's forces in his short-

lived Baja California Revolution. In that conflict, an "IWW army" was instrumental in the taking of Tijuana and Mexicali. Among the participants in that struggle, according to many old-time Wobs, was the Union's great songwriter, Joe Hill. Jack London contributed a brilliant support manifesto which began "We Socialists, anarchists, hoboes, chicken thieves, outlaws and undesirable citizens of the U.S. are with you heart and soul." Though the uprising ended in defeat (Magon himself was later incarcerated in Leavenworth), Wobbly ideas won an increased hearing in Mexico and several Mexican unions adopted the IWW preamble.

The record of IWW actions in the South gives no easy panaceas, but it does provide a Southern tradition worth learning about and imitating. Hall's fine poem "Forever" catalogs the horrors which have so long plagued the South, but it ends praising "The same old deathless longing, the same old loveland urge, The same old flaming spirit, the same old lightward surge, The same old rebels making the same old splendid fight/For the age-old dream of freedom, the age-old cause of right."

—Dave Roediger

## COVINGTON HALL — DEEP SOUTH WOBBLY

Albert Parsons went from being a Confederate soldier to being a leading advocate of Black civil rights in Texas to being a socialist labor organizer within the space of a dozen years. Lucy Parsons apparently moved from enslavement to civil rights leadership to socialism in about the same length of time. Far from being a Solid South or a static South, Dixie has witnessed startling transformations, or at least the beginnings of such transformations. Covington Hall, born in 1871 in Mississippi and raised in the Louisiana sugar district, understood the South as a land of change and had good reason to. "I was born," Hall wrote, "in the midst of tumults and riots. I have seen the collapse of two great social systems, Southern Feudalism and... Capitalism."

Hall himself was transformed. Descending from the Southern elite on both sides, he

was Adjutant General of the United Sons of Confederate Veterans as late as 1904, though his family had by then long since lost its wealth and land. By 1907, Hall had become a leader of the left wing of the New Orleans labor movement, challenging both the class system and color bars as he organized the "black and white dock slaves." In the years before World War One, he edited *The Lumberjack* and supported interracial Wobbly unionism. He would be a fixture on the far left for half a century, most of it as a member of the Industrial Workers of the World, but also as a publicist in the 20s for the radical agrarian Non-Partisan League and a leader of the post-World War One Children's Crusade. Hall wrote countless poems, collected in such volumes as *Rhymes of a Rebel* and *Battle Hymns of Toil*. His "Factful Fables" added charm and humor to many

radical publications and his unpublished *Labor Struggles in the Deep South* remains one of the handful of truly important books on the Southern working class.

Above all, Hall was a dreamer. He had seen changes and he dreamed of more and better changes. He subtitled his literary/political journal *Rebellion* with the words *Made Up of Dreams and Dynamite*. He wrote, in *Industrial Solidarity* in 1925, an elaborate and sophisticated "Defense of Dreaming" which argued that only when women and men "begin to dream of better bread and higher liberty do they become 'dangerous citizens' and a hopeful sign." "Us the Hoboes and Dreamers" is a part of Hall's effort to construct what he called a "Republic of the Imagination"—to envision a truly New South.

—Dave Roediger

### US THE HOBOES AND DREAMERS

*Written when we Lumberjacks, Sodbusters, Hoboes and Dreamers were fighting the Lumber Barons of Louisiana and Texas, with our backs to the wall, back in 1910-14.*

We shall laugh to scorn your power that now holds the South in awe,  
We shall trample on your customs and shall spit upon your law;  
We shall come up from our shanties to your burdened banquet hall—  
We shall turn your wine to wormwood, your honey into gall.

We shall go where wail the children, where, from your Race-killing mills,  
Flows a bloody stream of profits to your curst, insatiate tills;  
We shall tear them from your drivers in our shamed and angered pride,  
In the fierce and frenzied fury of a fatherhood denied.

We shall set our sisters on you, those you trapped into your hells,  
Where the mother instinct's stifled and no earthly beauty dwells;  
We shall call them from the living death, the death of life you gave,  
To sing our class's triumph o'er your cruel system's grave.

We shall strip them of their epaulets, the panderers who fight  
Your wars against the workers for a bone on which to bite.  
We shall batter down your prisons, we shall set your chain-gangs free,

We shall drive you from the mountainside, the valley, plain and sea.

We shall hunt around the fences where your oxmen sweat and gape,  
Till they stampede down your stockades in their panic to escape;  
We shall steal up through the darkness, we shall prowl the wood and town,  
Till they waken to their power and arise and ride you down.

We shall send the message to them on a whisper down the night,  
And shall cheer as warrior women drive your helots to the fight;  
We shall use your guile against you, all the cunning you have taught,  
All the wisdom of the serpent to attain the ending sought.

We shall come as comes the cyclone—in the stillness we shall form—  
From the calm your terror fashioned we shall hurl on you the storm;  
We shall strike when least expected, when you deem Toil's route complete,  
And crush you and your gunmen 'neath our brogan-shodded feet.

We shall laugh to scorn your power that now holds the South in awe,  
We shall trample on your customs, we shall spit upon your law;  
We shall outrage all your temples, we shall blaspheme all your gods—  
We shall turn your Slavepen over as the plowman turns the clods!

Covington Hall





# Roll the Union On

*It was nineteen hundred and thirty six  
And on the 18th day of May,  
When the STFU pulled a strike  
That troubled the planters on their thrones.*

*The planters they all became troubled,  
Not knowing what 'twas all about,  
But they said, "One thing I'm sure we can do,  
That's scare them sharecroppers out."*

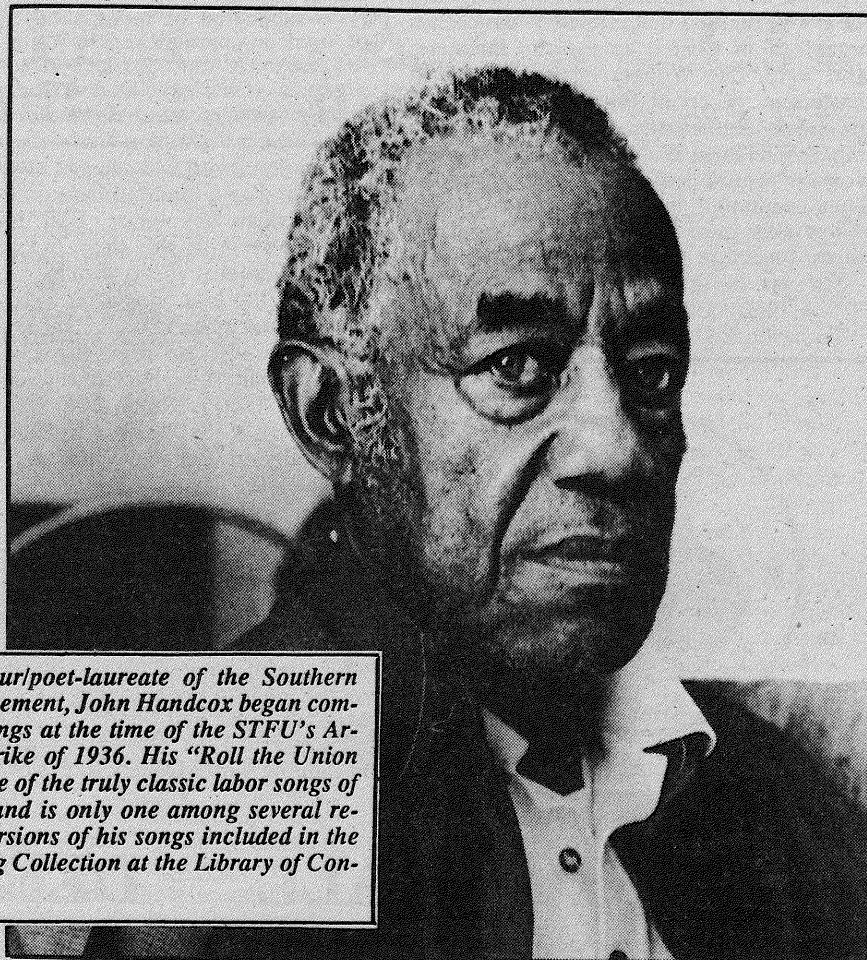
*We're gonna roll, we're gonna roll,  
We're gonna roll the Union on;  
We're gonna roll, we're gonna roll,  
We're gonna roll the Union on.*

*If the planter's in the way,  
We're gonna roll it over him,  
We're gonna roll it over him,  
We're gonna roll it over him,  
We're gonna roll the Union on.*

*If the boss is in the way,  
We're gonna roll it over him,  
We're gonna roll the Union on.*

*If the governor's in the way,  
We're gonna roll it over him,  
We're gonna roll the Union on.*

John L. Handcox



*Troubadour/poet-laureate of the Southern labor movement, John Handcox began composing songs at the time of the STFU's Arkansas strike of 1936. His "Roll the Union On" is one of the truly classic labor songs of all time, and is only one among several recorded versions of his songs included in the Folk Song Collection at the Library of Congress.*

**ROLL THE UNION ON: A PICTORIAL HISTORY OF THE SOUTHERN TENANT FARMERS' UNION, H.L. Mitchell, \$7.95 plus \$1.00 shipping from Charles H. Kerr Publishing Company, 1740 West Greenleaf, Chicago, Illinois, 60626. Also available from the IWW.**

The Southern Tenant Farmers' Union was organized in Arkansas in 1934 by Black and White sharecroppers, with H.L. Mitchell being one of the outstanding activists. Mitchell, a White Southerner, grew up in the racist atmosphere of the old South. Among his earliest memories is the witnessing of a lynching, a memory that stays with him until this day. He also witnessed first-hand the exploitation of tenant farmers, more popularly known as sharecroppers, and conceived of the need for an organization where through collective action they could better their own conditions.

The formation of the STFU came about in July, 1934 when Mitchell and Clay East, who happened to be the Town Constable of Tyronza, Arkansas, spearheaded this interracial organization. While Mitchell himself would be the last to take credit for the formation and maintenance of the STFU, he nevertheless devoted his life to it. Even to this day whenever he talks about the STFU, there is always a twinkle in his eye.

Mitchell has been an active socialist for over sixty years. Back in the 1930s the neighborhood around his dry-cleaning shop and East's filling station became known as the "Red Square" because of the frequent gatherings there of like-minded people.

The Southern Tenant Farmers' Union had a turbulent history as explained in these pages and has given inspiration to the development of like organizations such as the United Farm Workers. Mitchell gives much credit to the inspiration provided by the IWW and makes a special point of calling attention to the influence of Wobblies on the thinking of those who became activists in farm workers' movements.

He tells of the attempts on the part of certain political groups to take over the STFU with sometimes disastrous effects. The book is not only lavishly illustrated with scores of fine photographs and other illustrations of the STFU's history, a special section at the end of the book features words to several STFU songs and some very fine poetry by STFU members, including a poem dedicated to the passing of Emma Goldman written by Mitchell himself.

At the beginning of the book is a reproduction of the sheet music to "Roll The Union On" written by John Handcox, based on an early Black spiritual. The song is one of the great anthems of labor, third only to "We Shall Not Be Moved" of the West Virginia miners and Ralph Chaplin's "Solidarity Forever."

This book chronicles the struggles of the SFTU, its successes, its dangers from harassment by law enforcement agencies and "night riders" right up to the formation of the United Farmworkers' Union. Mention is made of the early participation in the SFTU and its successor organizations of such dedicated labor activists as Ernesto Galarza and Cesar Chavez. Economist John Kenneth Galbraith is quoted as saying he believes that the STFU was the germ of the Civil Rights Movement.

This beautiful, disturbing at times but never uninspirational volume shall provide a valuable addition to anyone's labor library and the Charles H. Kerr Publishing Company is to be commended for enriching the rich lore of labor history.

—Alfredo Nuberoja

## OUR LAND TOO: A Review

*Our Land Too: The Legacy of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union* is a 60-minute documentary film of the great sharecroppers' and farmworkers' union that blazed so many new trails for the labor movement in the 1930s. Concentrating primarily on the early years of the STFU, the film shows the conditions under which tenant farmers lived and worked—the ramshackle so-called homes and impoverished conditions of both the Black and white tenant farmers are vividly illustrated through pictures, film footage from the 1935 March of Time newsreel, "The Land of Cotton," and interviews with old-time STFU members, including H.L. Mitchell, Clay East, John Handcox, Evelyn Smith Munro and many others.

The film highlights the events which led up to the formation of the STFU, taking care to show that the immediate causal factor was the new agricultural policies coming out of the New Deal. The film also treats the planters' response to the STFU, and with many of the Union's strikes, such as the 1935 cotton pickers' strike, the 1939 Missouri highway sit-down strike, and the 1948 Di-Giorgio Strike in California.

Above all, *Our Land, Too* shows that the STFU was also a social movement involved in creating a better society for both Blacks and Whites. On the issue of race, for example, old-time members make it very clear that the "race question" was settled "once and for all" when you joined the STFU. Others tell how they contributed to the union by teaching fellow members how to read and write, and there is footage on the grand cooperative experiment involving both Blacks and Whites—the Delta Cooperative Farm.

The STFU was a living social entity whose members freely devoted their efforts to the union because it helped them not only in terms of bread-and-butter issues, but also in terms of living a fuller life. Like the IWW, the STFU was much more than a "business union"—it represented both the current interests of the members and also their vision of what the future society should look like. In capturing these two aspects of the STFU, the film clearly shows why the STFU was so revolutionary in the 1930s and why its ideals are so relevant today.

—Fred Lee

For information on rental, purchase or forthcoming public showings of *Our Land Too*, write: STFU Association, Box 2617, Montgomery AL 36105.

**JOIN THE OBU**

**Cotton Pickers!**  
**STRIKE!**  
**For \$1 per 100 lbs**  
**Refuse to pick a boll for less!**

**Strike on every farm or plantation where  
cotton is being picked for wages!**

**Accept No Less Than The Union Prices---**  
**\$1 per 100 lbs**

**Strike Call Effective TODAY**  
**Special Committee**  
**SOUTHERN TENANT FARMERS UNION**

**See Instructions for local strikes  
Committees**

**Please Pass This On**

*The STFU's first strike handbill.*

### Sonnet in Support of the United Farm Workers

*The poor in their sad little shacks  
they live on beans and taters  
while the rich in their culdesacs  
break bread with all the traitors.*

*The masses of dutiful peasantry  
who hunger and who thirst  
the crimes against humanity  
some are blessed and some are cursed.*

*The hungry are lined up for food stamps-  
the children all must eat,  
the downtrodden in the migrant camps  
need shoes on their feet.*

*Redwing leftwing, I raise up my glass  
I dance and I sing, with the working class.*

Lynn Cornelison  
X334545



# The Legacy of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union



*H.L. Mitchell, of Montgomery, Alabama, is one of the greatest and most colorful figures in the twentieth-century American labor movement. To longtime readers of the Industrial Worker he needs no introduction, for the farm-labor struggles to which he has devoted his life have been chronicled in this paper for well over sixty years. A co-founder of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union—the first fully-integrated agricultural workers' union in the deep South—back in 1934, Mitchell is still today, in his eighties, a committed socialist and an eloquent advocate of militant, direct-action unionism and real workingclass solidarity.*

*In Chicago recently to show the new documentary film of the STFU, Our Land Too, and to promote his new book, Roll the Union On, Mitch talked with us at length about his IWW acquaintances in the "old days" and, more generally, about Wobbly influences on the STFU as well as the significance of the IWW's and the STFU's kind of unionism for the labor movement today.*

*This interview sheds an appreciable light on some important but too-little-known aspects of workingclass history, and will be of special interest to everyone who knows that a revitalized labor movement is the indispensable key to a better, freer world.*

—F.R.

*Anyone familiar with the Industrial Workers of the World will recognize a lot of the "Wobbly spirit" in the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union and you yourself have acknowledged IWW influences on the STFU's development. When you founded the STFU, did you ever consider affiliating with the IWW?*

No, when we started the STFU in 1934 I don't think any of us down in Tyronza, Arkansas knew that such a thing as the IWW still existed. I knew a little something about the IWW, of course, from things I'd read. I was what was known as a "reading fool." I got started as a radical reading those Little Blue Books published by E. Haldeman-Julius in Girard, Kansas. There were hundreds of these Little Blue Books, all printed on a press that had formerly belonged to the socialist weekly, the *Appeal to Reason*. I saw an ad for them in one of the newspapers and sent off for a bunch of them, twenty books for a dollar, and as soon as I read them I sent off for more. And I kept on ordering them, ten at a time at five cents each. They were my real education. Later I had the *Communist Manifesto* and other books and pamphlets—all the basic radical literature—from the Charles H. Kerr Company in Chicago. I became a socialist in Moscow—Moscow, Tennessee, that is—and in 1920, before I could even vote, I campaigned for Eugene V. Debs, Socialist Party candidate for President.

But in 1934 I still didn't know any Wobblies and I didn't know much about the IWW; that came later. The real inspiration behind our organizing the STFU was Norman Thomas of the Socialist Party. He came down to Tyronza and we had a big meeting for him, and he told us what we needed more than anything else was an organization to help the sharecroppers.

*When, where and in what circumstances did you first encounter a real live IWW?*

The first Wobbly I ever met was Covington Hall. He was an organizer for the IWW starting from sometime in the 1910s, and he carried a red card till the day he died, in 1951. I met him in 1935 or '36 at the STFU office in Memphis. (The STFU had its headquarters in Arkansas only for about a year.) Hall had come to Memphis to visit his friend John D. Rust, an old-time socialist who had once lived at the New Llano socialist colony in Louisiana. Rust also invented a cotton-picking machine; we used to see him sometimes, riding it in the fields.

It was Rust who introduced me to Covington Hall. We usually called him Cov or Covami. I got to know him pretty well. Every time he came to Memphis he would visit Rust, and he would visit us, too. We would sit around the STFU office and talk. He would hold us younger folks spellbound

## THE IWW & THE STFU: An Interview with H. L. Mitchell

with his stories of the great labor battles he had taken part in when he was our age—stories of the Brotherhood of Timber Workers, the IWW and things he'd done in New Orleans and all over Louisiana.

A funny thing: During the first United Farm Workers strike, in 1963-64, I was out in California speaking to a group of young folks in the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), and I realized I was telling them the same kind of stories about my own life that Covington Hall used to tell us.

*How did Covington Hall influence the STFU?*

Well, it was Covington Hall who introduced me, and the STFU, to the IWW—to Wobbly history and ideas. He taught us a lot. When we first met him he left us some copies of the *Industrial Worker*, and I've been reading it regularly ever since. From that first meeting the STFU and the IWW always exchanged papers. Sometimes we ordered extra copies of particular issues. I still get a bundle of the *Industrial Worker* today and distribute them down South. We used a lot of IWW material in the STFU paper; a lot of our international news came straight from the *Industrial Worker*—and I guess the *Industrial Worker* ran some stuff on us, too.

I never joined the IWW; I don't think any of us in the STFU did. But we always regarded the Wobblies as our good friends, and they were always friendly toward us, too. After all, we were carrying on the same struggle that they had been involved in before us, and they recognized the fact.

Some of the older and more timid socialists up in Chicago and New York warned us about Covington Hall. They thought he was too wild a character and that he might cause a riot! But I admired him. We didn't see him too often, but I always enjoyed his visits. He was a good speaker; he could really make things clear. His stories were fascinating. And he was kind of humorous, too. One time he gave me a piece of paper with a handwritten poem of his on it, and I think we ran it in the STFU paper. It had a couple of lines in it saying that the sharecroppers

*"paid more rent and interest, too,  
than God in Heaven could count for you."*

*Could you tell us something of other IWW/STFU connections?*

Yes, Ernesto Galarza, when he was just a young boy out in California, was very influenced by an old Wobbly. I don't know his name, but it was he who introduced

Galarza to the world of ideas, and social criticism, about the working class and the employing class and how this society works. Galarza was one of the greatest people in the history of the STFU. Once there was a big meeting of labor officials in Mexico, and the *Industrial Worker* reported that Galarza was the "outstanding personality" and the only real workingman there. That's in the book [*Roll the Union On*, page 61]. Right now they're making a movie about Galarza and I hope they get something about that old Wobbly in it, because there's no doubt he was one of the biggest influences in Galarza's life.

Then there was J.R. Butler, our second president. In the 1910s he belonged to the Working Class Union, an Oklahoma farm-workers' offshoot of the IWW, and very much influenced by it.

I'm not sure, but I think J.A. Macdonald, who became bookkeeper of our Delta Co-Op, may have been a Wobbly, too.

I know a Wobbly writer out in Berkeley, California—Eugene Nelson. He's written several books including one on the Delano Grape Strike of the 1960s. He wrote a very nice long review of my first book, *Mean Things Happening in This Land* for the *Industrial Worker* when the book appeared in 1979.

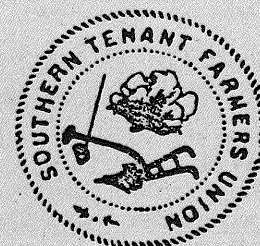
I'm sorry to say I never met Fred Thompson, who helped on the editing of *Roll the Union On*. For fifty years I heard nothing but good things about him, but somehow we never met. Just last evening I had the pleasure of meeting his companion, Jenny Velsek, herself a Wobbly since the 1930s, and I enjoyed talking with her about our old friend Covington Hall and other matters.

*Was there a discernible anarchist influence in the STFU?*

Not that I know of. Of course I had read about Albert R. Parsons and the Haymarket anarchists when I was in high school, and I probably read some more about the subject in the Little Blue Books. I never met Emma Goldman or heard her speak, but I knew that she had been deported from the United States and then was persecuted by the Bolshevik government in Russia, and I always admired her. I was very impressed by her autobiography when I read it around 1940. It's a truly great book.

*How would you sum up the affinities between the IWW and the STFU?*

First, it was our purpose to help workers organize themselves, rather than for us to



organize them. In the STFU we never told anyone what to do. At our meetings I'd state my views, everyone who wanted to would state his or her views, there'd be a discussion and then the workers would do what they wanted. This kind of real union democracy that we had in the STFU was something vital that we shared with the IWW.

Direct action was another thing we and the Wobblies had in common. The STFU always carried on a direct action program. I don't say we planned it that way, but that's the way it happened. Ninety-nine percent of our members couldn't vote anyway, because of the poll tax, so we had to figure out our own ways of doing things. All the great things done by the STFU were started by the workers in the ranks. When Martin Luther King was still a kid we had protest marches that made headlines all over the country. In 1936, twenty years before Eisenhower sent U.S. troops to desegregate Little Rock, Arkansas, we desegregated the hotels and restaurants there during our Convention. We didn't ask anybody's permission. We just went ahead and did it.

And then there are the songs! I can't think of any union that has produced anywhere near as many songs as the IWW and the STFU. Quite a few of our songs were adapted from songs in the IWW songbook, but we added plenty of new ones of our own, and they are still sung today, more than ever, and not only by union people but by radical activists of all kinds. Our great troubadour, John Handcox, who wrote "Roll the Union On," "Mean Things Happening in This Land" and many other STFU songs, used to say that he got more people to join the union by singing than the rest of us did by talking or by any other means.

Finally, the STFU shared the IWW's notion that a union's strength rests in its membership, not in its treasury. We never had any money, but we did great things anyway, because of the rank and file's initiative and dedication. Enthusiasm is what really counts.

*What is your impression of the IWW today?*

I'm glad the IWW is still carrying on, just like Covington Hall, Fred Thompson and other old-timers carried it on in the past. It's good to see that so many younger folks are joining the IWW. I think the younger Wobblies today are better informed than we used to be when we were their age. I'm not so sure that the IWW is going to be the instrument of the big change in society that we're all hoping and working for, but it's keeping alive some good ideas, and that's important, too. And of course the *Industrial Worker* has always had the best labor news of any labor paper in the country.

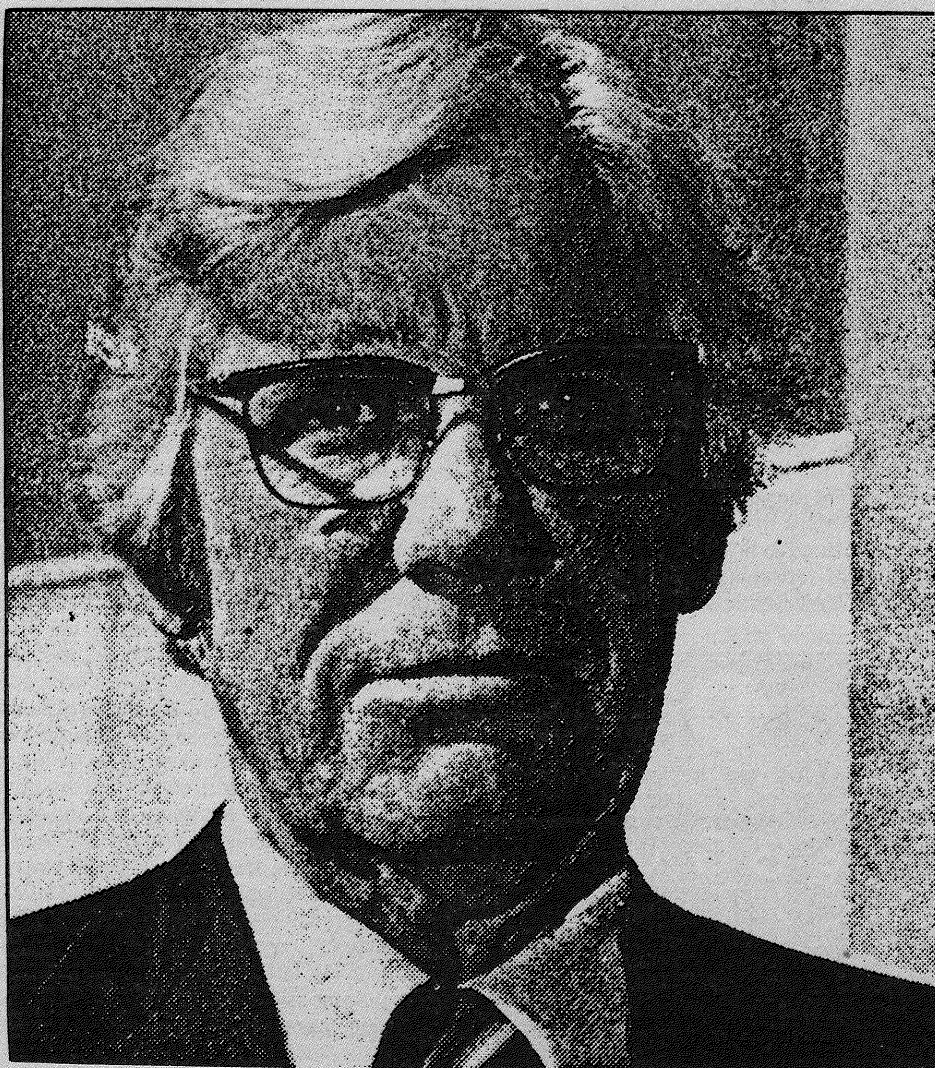
*What does the labor movement need today?*

Labor needs a whole new set of people to start things up again, and they have to come from the bottom up and not from the top down. That's the most important thing of all. The "leaders" we've got today aren't going to do anything for us. The Depression that's coming—basically it's already here—is going to hit people hard no matter who is elected President.

The principles that guided the IWW and the STFU—rank-and-file initiative, union democracy, direct action and solidarity—are the principles that will get the labor movement moving again. In this age of multinational corporations we have to start thinking about multinational unions. And we have to revive some serious discussion about socialism, and why capitalism isn't doing any of us any good.

We have to get the rank and file working people from all over—Blacks, Hispanics, poor whites, women, the homeless, everyone—to get together, so that they can decide for themselves what they want to do and how they're going to do it. I hope that people down on the bottom start to organize and take back what belongs to them.

Chicago,  
February 25-27, 1988





# GEORGIA LABOR'S FIGHT FOR UNIONISM

## A Brief History

Before the Civil War, the trade-union movement that was beginning to spring to life throughout much of the United States practically ceased at the Mason-Dixon Line, and Georgia was no exception. Several things contributed to this state of affairs but the chief obstacle to workingclass organization was the presence of slavery.

Planters had learned that enslaved Black people who were also trained as artisans could be leased to whatever jobs were available locally, serving the dual purpose of being cheaper than the free white workers and of undercutting and lowering their wage bargaining power simultaneously. For example, in rural DeKalb County in 1857, slaves working in a cotton mill cost the operator only 75 dollars a year as compared to 110 dollars for white workers. Needless to say, as the wage rates became little better than that of slave-labor, many white workers migrated to other parts of the country; it was estimated that in 1860, about 250,000 native Georgians were living outside the state and that a third of the white population who remained lived in abject poverty.

Many white workers in Georgia at that time never made the transition from attacking slaves to attacking slavery, but a few did. They were perhaps influenced by the massive immigration into this country of a European proletariat, many of whom were Socialists and Anarchists in exile from revolutionary struggles in their native lands. The radical and progressive influence of these activists was felt in every corner of the country and this time the Mason-Dixon Line proved to be no barrier at all. But the economic powers-that-be used the courts and state governments to pass laws banning inter-racial assembly and charging those seeking emancipation with the crime of high treason.

### Civil War

A brave, intrepid few, Black and white, were determined on solidarity regardless. But then Fort Sumter intervened, the aristocratic planters babbled to each other of "states' rights" and "the purity of our Southern womanhood" and then sounded the bugles. On hearing the fife and drum, Southern white workers (like countless millions of damn-fool workers before and since) laid down their tools and spades, put their brains in the rootcellar, and went off to slaughter other damn-fool workers.

The Confederacy and Georgia were properly humbled and slavery was abolished. Chattel-slavery, that is. Wage-slavery, young and omnivorous, began to flesh out and put on weight and muscle. It was the time of Reconstruction, a time of brief and portentous racial unity among Georgia's workers, a time also of the Black Codes, enacted as laws by the legislatures of every Southern state in 1865. The Black Codes were a series of eleven decrees prohibiting Black people from following any occupation except farming and menial service; a special license was required to engage in any other type of work. Blacks could be arrested at any time for vagrancy and were often victims of the notorious convict-lease system which supplied favored white contractors with slave-labor.

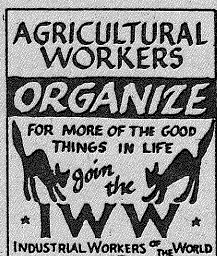
Because of these restrictions and conditions, one of the first unions in Georgia was established by two prominent Black leaders in an attempt to organize and gain decent wages for men and women working as field hands. Jefferson Long and H. M. Turner's efforts resulted in strikes in Macon and Dougherty County and agitation in Houston County. But blacklisting of suspected union members, evictions from tenant farms and the Klu Klux Klan all helped to defeat this early attempt to organize farmworkers.

### Knights of Labor

Serious efforts of workingclass solidarity didn't result until twenty years later when the Knights of Labor, then at the peak of their influence and membership, organized numerous assemblies throughout the state. Despite the stated purpose of the proclamations issued by the general officers of the Knights of Labor for racial solidarity between its members, segregated assemblies of locals were the norm throughout the South. As the New York *Freeman*, a leading Black journal of the day noted: "Nothing short of a potentiality like the Knights of Labor can ever force Southern capitalists to give the wage workers a fair percentage of their labor. If there is any power on earth which can make the white Southern employers of labor face the music, it is organ-

ized white and black labor, with the labor power of the nation to sustain it."

A lot of black wage-earners agreed. Their great numbers in the Knights of Labor were achieved despite bitter opposition and repression, and a standard of living which meant



hardship just to pay monthly dues. For instance, in Covington, Ga., where the Black Knights had to walk six miles for assembly meetings, not only was attendance 100% but many workers paid their dues for months in advance.

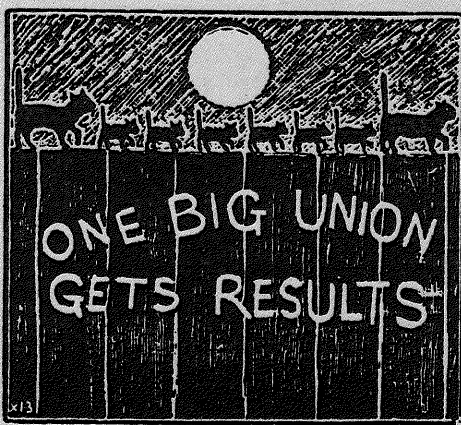
It was not an easy path for a unionist in those days. To defeat efforts to organize workers, employers in the South used the blacklist, the lockout, Pinkerton detectives, the "iron-clad" oath, anti-labor laws, lynching of organizers, and vigilantes. After an organizing trip through Georgia and the Carolinas in 1888, Thomas B. Barry, a member of the Order's General Executive Board, stated: "It is as much as a person's life is worth to be known as a member of the Knights of Labor." Indeed, it was. A year earlier, H. F. Hoover, a white organizer who had considerable success organizing farm laborers in South Carolina, was shot and killed in broad daylight while addressing an audience of predominantly Black workers in Warrenton, Ga. No one was ever charged or brought to trial for the murder; Terence Powderly and most of the upper hierarchy of the Knights were too preoccupied at the time with purging the Order of "all radicals and anarchists" to heed the local Assembly's demand to protest the wanton killing of an organizer.

Shortly afterward, the Knights who in 1886 had claimed 800,000 members were but a small fraction of that number. The causes of the decline were many but perhaps chief among them was the growing abyss between top officials like Powderly and the rank and file. Betrayed by their leadership, the assemblies of Black and white workers in Georgia and other Southern states gave up in disgust and drifted away.



### Jim Crow and the AFL

The powers of capital reasserted themselves; the previously mentioned bludgeons of repression were used tirelessly against workingclass unity and dissent. The Black Codes were rigidly enforced and Jim Crow became legally institutionalized. Racist demagoguery characterized the political dialog of the times. White and Black industrial and tenant farmers became chained to little squares of pasteboard called *script*, redeemable only at the company store. The New South was born; the image of



slattern crackers and fearful, cowed Blacks became reality.

Into this environment, the American Federation of Labor appeared - cautiously at first, but with the noble rhetoric of rectifying the inequalities of labor and capital on its masthead, and its declaration of purpose demanding that all workers regardless of race should be organized. Discrimination because of sex was not mentioned then or for a number of years afterward. The Knights of Labor had organized numerous mixed and all-women assemblies in Georgia, the former composed mainly of agricultural workers in rural areas, and the latter of seamstresses and laundry workers in Atlanta. With the retreat of the Order's top leadership in the early 1890s many of these locals disbanded and the new AFL proved to be no refuge for them. As the AFL grew and became more prosperous, the early class-struggle and social-equality language of its preamble, constitution, and official journals became muted, infrequent, and even forgotten. Many of the national unions seeking to join the Federation became aware that the policy of equality in membership was mere rhetoric and could be gotten around by repealing their own exclusionary clauses in principle and letting each local set its own policy of race and sex discrimination. The AFL under Samuel Gompers' tutelage turned a blind eye toward racism then and for many years afterward.

This policy of "pure and simple unionism," as Gompers liked to term it, or "business unionism," according to its critics, was disastrous for all but the very skilled craftsmen who numbered but a small minority of the labor force as the industrial epoch approached full stride. This exclusion of the unskilled, of people of color, and of women from the ranks of organized labor created a readymade strike-breaking force that the capitalists of the day were not slow to make use of. The AFL, entrenched behind the increasingly conservative views of Gompers and the high initiation and dues of its craftsmen, never came to terms with conditions of labor in Georgia and the South.

A few national unions of the Federation, such as the International Association of Machinists, the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, and the railroad Brotherhoods had locals here but their policies of exclusion negated any economic or political impact they could have had on the workforce as a whole.

### The IWW

In 1905, a convention of delegates and interested parties from all corners of the spectrum of organized labor met in Chicago to address these problems, and the Industrial Workers of the World was born. From the outset IWW made it a cast-iron principle that no worker, regardless of race, gender or origin, could be excluded from the organization. Its principle of the One Big Union of all the workers resounded throughout the world, and those excluded from the AFL or repelled by its structure of organized scabbery joined the IWW in increasing numbers. The history of the IWW has been written elsewhere in sublime detail and this worker will not attempt even to summarize it. Let us just say that, for a variety of reasons, the IWW never attempted a serious and sustained presence in the state of Georgia. Perhaps the closest to the state the IWW ever came was with the Brotherhood of Timberworkers in Louisiana, and in 1914 when Matilda Rabinowitz came to Greenville, S.C. to organize for the National Industrial Union of Textile Workers. She found a system of vasselage resembling a scene out of medieval Europe, with workers living and dying within the shadow of the company. Unable to obtain work in the mills, she passed out leaflets and gradually gathered the nucleus of a local. But at first it was only the men who would come to meetings. She wrote, "After supper, the men's tasks were over. But the women worked on. There were the dishes and clothes to be washed; there was mending and cleaning and a dozen other things to do - the interminable tasks of house-keeping unrelieved by any modern conveniences. No rest, no recreation, no social life did these women know. Mill slaves and the slaves of slave husbands, bringing into the world slave children." Fellow Worker Rabinowitz could have been describing any mill town in Georgia with the just those words. The IWW local in Greenville fought for decent pay and shorter hours, and lost. Matilda Rabinowitz and the IWW left South Carolina to wage the struggle elsewhere, but seeds of hope were sown that year which briefly bore fruit twenty years later during the brief summer of the CIO.



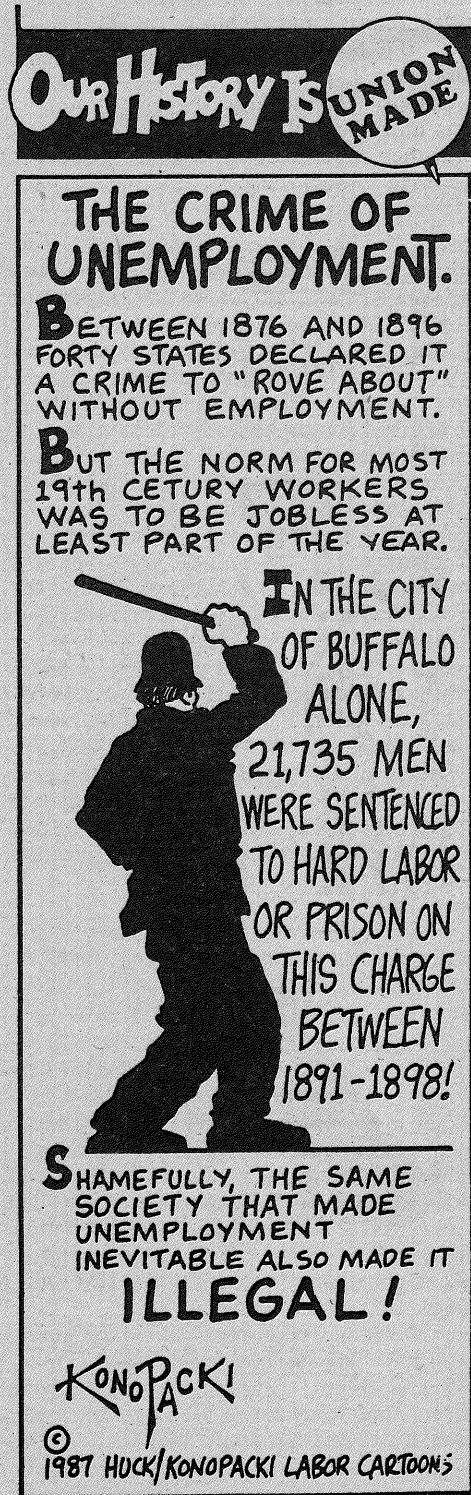
### Wildcats

Those spontaneous eruptions of wildcat strikes in the '30s occurred all over the country and were only later controlled by the CIO bureaucrats. The GM sit-down at the Lakewood, Atlanta plant in 1936, the flying squadrons of the ACTWU which closed and organized mill after mill, and the efforts of H. L. Mitchell and the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union were all part of the efforts in Georgia to gain a decent livelihood and determine the share and conditions of labor. But by co-opting the militancy engendered by the worst depression in the history of capitalism and the indifference and ineffectual admonitions of the local and Federal government, labor "leaders" such as John L. Lewis and David Dubinsky once again brought business unionism to the fore. Collective bargaining became legal and the right to organize guaranteed by law. No matter that the NLRB often serves as corporate attorneys on taxpayer's time, the benevolent neutrality of government was assured by law. Or so it was thought. That old, inescapable truth of labor producing all the wealth and co-operatively sharing the means and results of production has been forgotten. Capitalism was and still is guaranteed its role as exploiter by sacrosanct union contracts.

Innumerable ghosts, however, were not laid to rest, and the sound which could have been that of a bell, but was drowned out by the hurrahs of working people for FDR and the advent of the American empire, is now tolling for organized labor in Georgia and the rest of the nation. H. F. Hoover, looking the last time out on the square in Warrenton, Ga., would hear and surely understand.

Phil Harris  
Atlanta, Georgia

Sources: Philip S. Foner, *History of Labor in the United States Vols. 1-3 and Women and the American Labor Movement, Vol. 1*; W. E. B. DuBois, *Black Reconstruction in America 1860-1880*; *Southern Exposure, Working Lives*; Art Preis, *Labor's Giant Step*.





# ON THE WATERFRONT

The right-wing trade-union bureaucracy continues to tear the trade-union movement apart. The latest ploy in a continuing pattern is the creation of a "new union" in the already near-terminal maritime industry. It is called the Seafarers Maritime Union (SMU)—the creation of the national officers of the Seafarers International Union (SIU) and District Two of the Marine Engineers Beneficial Association (MEBA).

SMU was ostensibly formed to cover jobs with the Military that are not now covered by existing unions; it takes no crystal ball to forecast the subsequent undermining of union conditions in this industry. It's the old story of playing the boss's game and creating competing unions in a given field. This goes all the way back to the original appearance of the AFL—to oppose the then-radical Knights of Labor. Later on, when the NMU (the National Maritime Union) was an early militant outfit, they came up with the rival SIU. So on and on.

The dominant ideology of the right wing (if that is the proper word for it) is a near-insane hatred of what they label "Communism." They use this to justify every anti-labor action they take! This too follows a timeworn pattern.

The bosses set up their witch hunt with the goal of driving out all the militants and radicals from the trade-union movement. What they flip over is workers' ownership and control of the means of production (production for use and not for profit) and the creation of a new society. Wages (they control the value of money anyway) and hours (the only true gain from any strike—which is why we have not gotten the long-overdue six-hour day) they can deal with. A new society in which they have no role to play is something else again.

The pattern the bosses follow is to label these Lefties as some kind of subversive. In the Knights of Labor period it was either "anarchist" or "nihilist." (There are a few anarchists still around, but the nihilists are now only a footnote in a history book.) Then the bosses claim that these subversive wretches deserve absolutely no consideration or sympathy and see to it that they damn well get none! Following their attack on "anarchists" and "nihilists" in the early 1900s, the bosses' next witch hunt, after World War I, produced the Palmer Raids, which destroyed the largely Wobbly-created union movement of that time. The twin evil words then were "Wobbly" and "Bolshevik." The drive to oust the Left from the unions

came after World War II, as inevitably as night follows day. The twin evil names now were "Reds" and "Communists." (The Wobs were in decline, but they were still listed as a Government-named subversive organization.) The coming witch hunt (to destroy opposition to American military intervention all over the globe) will probably rely on the twin terms "terrorists" and "Communists." They always seem to have two words for it.

To anyone who might wander whether there were witch hunts before there was a trade-union movement, the answer unfortunately is yes. In medieval and previous times, if you were a Catholic in a Protestant country you were called a "Papist"—and



God help you! (He usually didn't.) If you were a Protestant in a Catholic country you were called a "heretic" and God help you there, too. Is this pleasure in attacking and crucifying a given minority part of the dark side of human nature? I simply don't know. But I do know that if the human apes don't outgrow this vicious tribal characteristic, they will never be able to understand or deal



LONDON — There are rumblings under the skin of this tight little island as a wave of industrial strikes are beginning to erupt. One can dismiss the pathetic 'teachers' strike' that long ago bored the arse of the organised working class and the right wing media for the small time half a day walk out on full strike pay and then back the following morning rested and ready for the next theoretical bedtime barricade two or maybe three months away. There are strikes and strikes but when any massive group of feather-bedded workers are too indifferent to be the vanguard in their demands then the uncommitted must be allowed to vote with their feet and march off to better, worthier and broader fronts to fight on. Britain's nurses for the first time in their working history are taking strike action and their claims and their cause is just. It is an emotional strike that the rightwing and its media find hard to fault. Britain's hospital nurses are in the main young girls seeking, at that age, an emotional mission for which they can dedicate their lives to. Between the wars they were recruited for Britain's hospitals mainly from Ireland for that small country with its low standard of living and Church-orientated

with new movements aimed at changing the status quo. And change is an integral part of the whole human experiment. Shall it be brought about by common sense or by bloody revolution?

This "new union" has not yet reached the West Coast, but it will. When it does it will present a picture of almost poetic justice, pigeons coming home to roost. For the oldest seamen's union here (the Sailors Union of the Pacific) played a key role in creating the SIU (to compete with the early radical NMU) on the East Coast. Its leader, Harry Lundberg (and a majority of his members), fully participated in the Government's repeated efforts to deport Harry Bridges to Australia. Their whole history is one long diatribe against "Communism," using it to justify their every act. During the Joe McCarthy period this was their excuse for forming another union and destroying the old Maritime Cooks Union as a Communist-run outfit. (The old Cooks Union had fought the bloody 1934 strike right by their side.) Now they are facing the SMU's inevitable arrival on the West Coast, and without a moral leg to stand on! They can't even Red-bait it!

Witch hunt (led by Joe McCarthy and company) and voted to join the SIU after an incredible Red-baiting campaign initiated by their reactionary leadership. Today the Marine Firemen are down to two shipping companies (raided by the outfit they joined!), and here in Seattle they now occupy a rear room in the SUP hall. When the SMU comes to the West Coast, the Firemen will, in all probability, be the first casualty. Unless they join this "new union" (on SMU terms), it may simply pull the rug out from under the old Firemen's union and let it slide down the coal chute.

The real question is whether the scissor-bills (who, unfortunately, form the majority of book-carrying union members today) have learned anything from this. What has to happen before they wake up and develop a class ideology? Just look at the so-called "Red unions" like the West Coast Longshoremen, one of the very few rank-and-file outfits left in our country. The FBI went over them with a fine tooth comb, but found no corruption (and no sellouts!). Now take a real look at all those other right-wing unions (and their misleaders) who have been Red-baiting them for decades now! Let your common sense judge their life styles, their wealthy estates left to their own families, their friendships with the bosses and the FBI, and their Chamber of Commerce mentalities. Do the work oxen really want this cruddy lot for leaders? Any sensible trade-union member should automatically vote against any piecard whose bottom line is Red-baiting. For all the rest follows from this.

R.D.C.

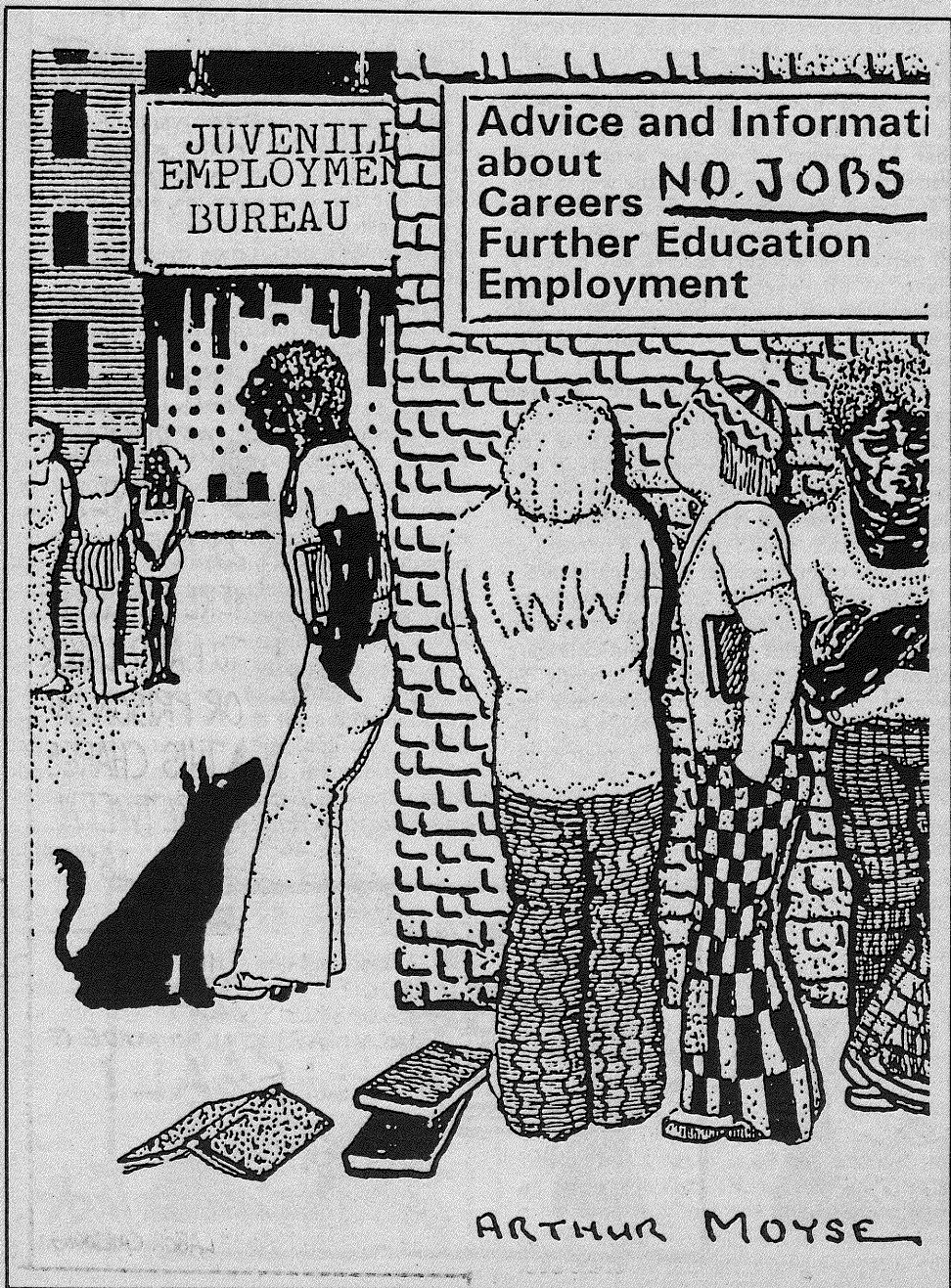
mysticism was a fertile recruiting officer for Britain's high principles, long hours and low-paid servant problem and social services staffing.

But over the last few years girls from Britain's mainland and from its job-seeking lower middle class have been taking over, if not the role, then the job of nursing. As Ma Thatcher's vicious economic war against the British working class—and this is not an emotive playing with words—closes wards, cuts down on physical nursing and ignores the death of children for lack of hospital aid, as nurses are saying and striking against their low, low pay, the long and arduous hours and the misery within the hospitals that they are unable to deal with. Emergency services are there, comrades, within the hospitals, but the nurses for the first time are outside the hospitals, holding up their strike banners and wearing their strike-picket armbands and all one can do is to make one's small presence felt by standing diffidently alongside their picketline.

For a brief time Ma Thatcher was unable to scream her political abuse at the striking nurses and the national rightwing media tiptoed very gently for, for once, they could not scream at "Angels of Mercy" in their neat white uniforms as they carried the bedpans, but when the hightoned Royal College of Nursing announced that while they gave love and sympathy to their sisters picketing on the stones, as Royal College Nurses they could never morally take strike action, only the gains if the striking nurses win their fight for an increase in pay and better working conditions. When the RCN declared no, no not never any part in strike action the media and Ma Thatcher went into action with Ma Thatcher inviting the Royal College nurses in for a cozy tea fest and the media now scream that the gentle Angels of Mercy have been tricked out on strike by Trotskyists with copies of Socialist Workers, Militant and Revolutionary Communist arty newspapers. But we can but wait as the nurses' strike gathers momentum.

The National Union of Seamen have voted for an indefinite strike over job cuts and wage cuts while in Britain's Motown, Vauxhall and Ford car workers having voted for strike action over a pay offer are now locked in an industrial cliff-hanger over a, literally, last-minute new pay offer. The car workers have been advised by their union to accept the new pay offer even though it must mean job losses but as always they must decide. Somewhere in the champagne belt the television technicians are still out on their two-months-old strike over wage claims so vast in relation to the four dollars an hour pay of a hospital porter that one reads the arguments for and against like science fiction but yea yea brothers and sisters, who am I to point the shivering finger of envy? But it is in Britain's coal fields that strike action has been voted for, for Arthur Scargill, having thrown his hat into the ring for reelection, has been reelected and refuses to accept pit closures and six-day working. But pits are already out over strike action, for the 8,000 Nacods union pit safety men have walked out of the pits and no miner can be allowed to go below ground, so one can only wait to see what Arthur and the coal face miners will do now. Bloody noses have dried and been wiped a long time ago but comrades, only those on the picketlines must be allowed to decide their actions. But Pete, Charlie and I sit in the Nag's Head pub and brood into the every filling bottoms of those beer glasses and we discuss art, and philosophy, and work and the war — O the war — and Pete looks at me sadly and says, "No tomato juice in my vodka," and three questing customers from the bookshop shyly enter the Nag's Head pub seeking Peter, me and Charlie, asking to know when the bookshop will be reopened and Peter, me and Charlie smile and fondle our vodka glasses for it is closing time in the east.

— Arthur Moyse





# LIES, DAMN LIES AND STATISTICS

From now until election time we dwellers in Freedomland will be treated to a steady babble about the longest peacetime economic expansion in postwar history. Administration spokespersons point out that real (that is, adjusted for inflation) personal income per capita rose by 37 percent between 1970 and 1986, while real disposable income (income above and beyond that necessary for food shelter and clothing) per capita rose by almost 35 percent.

But if economic growth is all around us, why do Gallup polls in each of the last four years show a majority of Americans saying they were financially the same or worse off than they were the year before?

Well, people say they have less money than before because they don't have as much money as they did. The new Congressional Research Service report spells it out plainly: Key measures of our standard of living have either stagnated or fallen since the 1970s. For average workers—production and non-supervisory workers in the private sector—average hourly wages “declined precipitously from 1978 through 1982... and have shown no appreciable recovery since then.” “In 1986, this gauge was 10 percent below its 1973 peak.”

So how does the Congressional study jibe with administrative figures? The administration figures are “true” but they are misleading. Real personal income per capita and real disposable income per capita did rise, not as a result of workers earnings more but because of two other factors.

One is rising “nonlabor” personal income. Nonlabor income includes transfer payments (Social Security, Medicare and unemployment compensation) and interest income. Between 1970 and 1986, this nonlabor income rose 81 percent.

The second factor is that more family members have joined the labor force. The administration's personal income figures are per capita, not per worker and not per hour worked. Thus a family of four in which only the husband works must divide that income by four to determine the per capita income of each member of the family. If the wife goes to work, income per capita will go up. But the husband is not earning more an hour, and because both spouses work, there will be childcare to pay for as well as other extra expenses.

To correct for these factors, the Congressional Research Service separated labor income from nonlabor income, transformed the resulting labor income figure from per capita to per hour and used the Consumer Price Index to account for inflation. It then excluded fringe benefit costs paid by employers, which bear no relation to the dollar value of any benefits actually received by any particular employees.

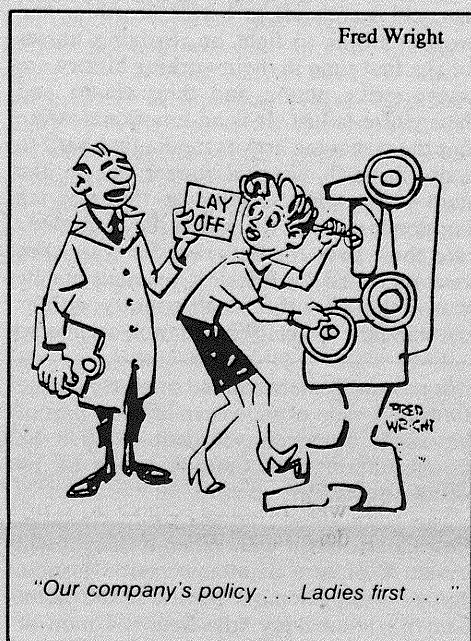
With these adjustments, real labor income per hour in 1986 was lower than in every year from 1970 to 1978. So a typical worker just entering the work force would earn a lower starting salary than someone who entered the workforce 15 years ago. This new worker, who has little income from interest and does not receive Social Security or Medicare, must expect a lower, not higher, standard of living than those who previously joined the workforce.

## The Wage Gap Between the Sexes

If we could believe the news reports, women are making rapid progress in closing the gap between what they earn and what men earn. In late January the media began reporting that waged women were earning 70 percent of men's wages, up from 62.5 percent in 1979. But this encouraging comparative wage statistic is more than a little ambiguous.

While a recently issued U.S. Census Bureau report put the figure at 70 percent, a new study by the Women's Research and Education Institute (WREI), an independent agency that began as the research arm of the Congressional Caucus on Women's Issues, puts the figure at 68 percent. The U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS) says it's 71 percent while Nine to Five, the National Association of Working Women, maintains that the previous 64 percent figure remains unchanged.

The discrepancies, according to Sara Rix, who helped compile the WREI study, reflect different sources of data. She also notes that these percentages cover only full-time workers. Nearly two-thirds of part-time workers are women, and part-time workers earn, per hour, an average of 58 percent of what full-time workers make (and they rarely get health insurance or other benefits). Women also comprise the majority (62 percent) of temporary workers, who are similarly low-paid.



## Wage Gap Narrowing?

Another question upon which experts differ is just why the wage gap seems to be narrowing, if in fact it is. According to Gordon Greene, assistant division chief of the income branch of the U.S. Census Bureau, it's because “women are making progress in entering higher-paying occupations.” He reels off a series of numbers illustrating the growing percentage of women in male-dominated job categories. In 1979, he says, women were only 34 percent of accountants and auditors, 28 percent of computer programmers and 10 percent of attorneys. By 1986, women's representation in these respective fields had increased to 45 percent, 40 percent and 15 percent.

Greene concludes from the Census Bureau study that “both men and women have lower wages in woman-dominated fields.” The message of the study is that women going to college should study the technical fields men often study. He is confident that if more women entered male-dominated fields, the market would insure rising wages for those women remaining in traditionally women's jobs.

But a number of other sources indicate that Greene is focusing on the silver lining and ignoring the looming stormclouds. Both BLS and WREI found that much of the “progress” made in the male-female wage ratio has to do with falling wages among men. (Real wages have been sliding since 1977; the AFL-CIO says real hourly earnings dropped 6 percent between 1979 and 1985.)

By emphasizing the gains women have made in breaking into male-dominated fields, experts like Greene also underplay the biggest reason for the continuing wage gap: the majority of women continue to work in low-paying job “ghettos.” WREI found that in 1985, 70 percent of women working full-time were employed in occupations that were three-fourths female. About a third of all women work in clerical jobs. This was the problem that the principle of pay equity was intended to address, but progress has been slow.

Sara Rix is now researching an appalling trend known as “occupational resegregation.” That's when women move into a male-dominated field only to discover that their growing presence has caused wages to drop. She says WREI is now launching a project to research the problem. If, as expected, resegregation is an extensive problem, then women may confront gaping wage disparities regardless of the field they pursue.

## Double Shift, Still

As wages have dropped for both men and women, the two-wage-earner family has become the norm. BLS recently found that in 56 percent of married-couple families, both spouses work. That's up from 48 percent in 1976. If women had not entered the workforce in record numbers in the 1970s, according to the Service Employees International Union, family income would have dropped by 18 percent.

Unfortunately, being a wage-earner in a two-wage-earner family seems to be a lot harder for women than for men. A depressing study released in 1987 by the Conference Board, a business group, found that women who work full-time still end up doing most of the housework. In a survey of 5000 households, the board found that only one quarter of men whose wives work cook with any frequency. Only 22 percent regularly clean the house, 28 percent shop for food and 30 percent do the dishes. It found that men under 35 are only slightly more likely to perform these household chores than older men. Meanwhile, an increasing number of women appear to be taking on household tasks traditionally performed by men—like auto repairs and tax returns.

And then there's the issue of children.

About 85 percent of working women will, at some point in their careers, have a child. Women are now rushing back to the workforce after having babies, mostly out of economic desperation. BLS recently found that 52 percent of women with children under the age of one were in the workforce. Ten years ago only 32 percent of these mothers were working for wages. Only about 40 percent of workers receive any parental leave at all—even unpaid leave. Many parents return to work before their unpaid leave is up because they can't afford to live without a paycheck.

A Harris poll found that one of three parents has trouble finding good childcare. Full-time preschool childcare—for those who can find it—takes an average \$3000 out of a parent's pocket per year. A survey by the Bureau of National Affairs, a private information service, found that only 4 percent of employers offer financial aid for childcare.

Little relief is in sight for women workers, but union organizing drives that stress paid parental leave and employer-paid childcare might reach receptive ears. Currently 24 percent of male workers are unionized, but only 15 percent of women workers; the percentage of organized Black women workers is somewhat higher.

Penny Pixler



## ACTORS CHILE VICTIMS

The military Junta that has ruled Chile for the last 14 years under General Agostino Pinochet, despite the public criticism of the Reagan Administration, has not let up on its reign of terror that was instituted ever since coming to power.

Now that a presidential plebiscite must take place in 1989, no holds are being barred in a campaign of intimidation against any and all possible opponents of the present government. Young people are again “disappearing,” women are being outraged in their own homes, well-known personages are being banned for their personal opinions and many dissidents are still being shot down in cold blood.

Before the Death Squads carry out their bloody work, they first send letters to those individuals they wish to intimidate, be it a judge investigating a torture incident, a union functionary instigating a general strike, or a bishop calling for the resignation of Pinochet.

Recently 25 of Chile's most outstanding actors, actresses, playwrights and directors have received letters advising them to get “out of the country by the end of the month or be executed.” Also receiving the same message were a number of alternative theater groups, comprising 52 actors and actresses. All of these messages were signed by a death squad that identified itself as “Trizano,” the name of a notorious early frontiersman who massacred thousands of indigenous Chilean Indians in the last century.

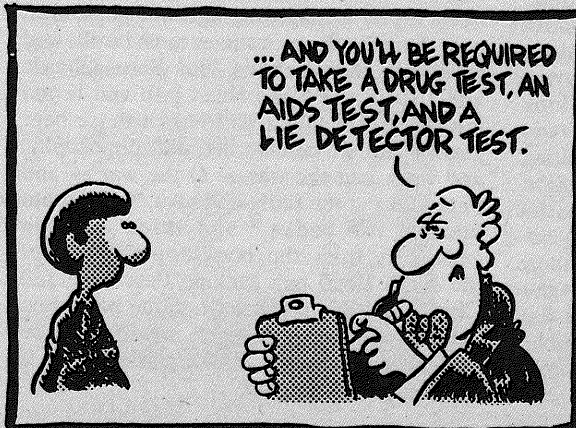
The death squads in Chile operate with total impunity. While General Pinochet is not “personally involved” in their murderous depredations, he has made no efforts to bring these vigilantes to justice. After all, it is Pinochet who has boasted that in Chile not a leaf moves without his consent.

According to Ariel Dorfman, the prominent Chilean writer in exile, on the day that these theatrical workers were supposed to have left the country, they instead held a free nonstop theater festival in the city of Santiago, as a declaration of their intention of staying.

This writer, at this time, does not know the outcome of this theater festival, but up here in Freedomland, some well-known performers, including the president of Actors' Equity, Colleen Dewhurst and Theo Bikel, vice president of the International Federation of Actors, have vigorously expressed their opposition to the continued support of such terror on the part of the Reagan administration. This statement was sent to the president and all of his staff and government officials. Among others signing this statement were such luminaries as Lily Tomlin, Jason Robards, Ellen Burstyn and Edward Asner.

Here in Chicago, Fellow Worker Bozo, a longtime member of the Screen Actors' Guild as well as of the IWW, has been contacting all of his local colleagues with copies of the statement and Dorfman's article and wising them up to the antics of their erstwhile colleague from Hollywood.

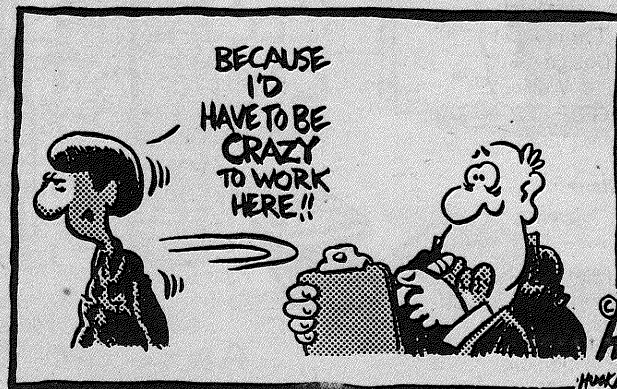
—Punapilvi



WHAT NO PSYCHOLOGICAL TESTING?



NO! WHY?





# DIRECTORY

of IWW Branches & Delegates

## United States

**ALASKA.** Ruth Sheridan, Delegate, 4704 Kenai, Anchorage 99508. ★ Barry Roderick, Delegate, Box 748, Douglas 99824.

**CALIFORNIA.** San Francisco Bay Area General Membership Branch, Box 40485, San Francisco, 94140. ★ Richard Ellington, Delegate, 6448 Irwin Court, Oakland 94609. 415-658-0293. ★ San Diego IWW Group, PO Box 16989, San Diego 92116.

**COLORADO.** Denver-Boulder General Membership Branch, 2412 E. Colfax Ave., Denver 80206. 303-388-1065. Open Saturdays 9-12 noon. Meetings at noon, second Sunday of each month. Educational Forums 7 pm last Sunday of each month. Gary Cox, Branch Sec'y, Box 478, Johnstown 80534. 303-587-4507. ★ David Frazer, Delegate, Box 6, Rollinsville 80474. 303-494-4809. ★ Lowell May, Delegate, 2201 Eliot, Denver 80211. 303-458-0870.

**FLORIDA.** Fred Hansen, Delegate, Box 824, New Port Richey, 34656.

**GEORGIA.** Atlanta IWW Group, PO Box 54766, Atlanta, 30308-0766, 404-257-1838.

**ILLINOIS.** Chicago General Membership Branch (M. Hargis, Sec'y), 3435 North Sheffield, Suite 202, Chicago 60657. 312-549-5045. ★ Chicago General Defense Committee Local 2 (same address as Chicago Branch). ★ Champaign-Urbana IWW Group Box 2824, Station A, Champaign 61820.

**KENTUCKY.** Louisville IWW Group, 2024 Baringer Avenue, Louisville 37581.

**LOUISIANA.** Shreveport IWW Group, PO Box 37581, Shreveport 71133.

**MARYLAND.** Baltimore Area Branch (General Membership), PO Box 33528, Baltimore, 21218. (301) 947-8385. Rosana Marino, Secretary. Meets 2nd Sunday every month, 2-4pm, 2500 N. Charles St., Baltimore. Regional Organizing Committee, Greg Buckingham, Chair, Rt. 1, Box 137A, Arvon, VA 23004.

**MASSACHUSETTS.** Boston General Membership Branch, Box 454, Cambridge 02139, 617-522-7090 ★ Berkshire Learning Center Job Branch, 35 Curtis Terrace, Pittsfield 01201.

**MICHIGAN.** Southeast Michigan General Membership Branch, 42 South Summit, Ypsilanti 48197. 313-483-3478. Meetings second Monday of each month at 7:30 pm in Room 4001 of the Michigan Union. ★ University Cellar I.U. 660 Job Branch, 425 South Summit, Ypsilanti, 48197. ★ People's Wherehouse I.U. 660 Job Branch, c/o Sarah Rucker, 727 West Ellsworth Road, Ann Arbor 48104. ★ Delegate, 415 Ethel, Grand Rapids 49506. ★ Delegate, 1101 Cottage Row, Hancock 49930.

**MINNESOTA.** Minneapolis-St. Paul General Membership Branch (Nancy A. Collins, Delegate), PO Box 2245, St. Paul 55102. Meetings third Wednesday of each month.

**MONTANA.** Western Montana General Membership Branch Hall, 415 North Higgins, Room 104, Missoula. Open Monday through Saturday, 12-5. 800-873-4000 or 406-721-3000. A. L. Nurse, Delegate. Address all correspondence to IWW Branch, PO Box 8562, Missoula 59807.

**NEW YORK.** New York General Membership Branch, Box 183, New York 10028. ★ Rochelle Semel, Delegate, PO Box 172, Fly Creek 13337. 607-547-9760 or 212-662-8801. ★ Jackie Panish, Delegate, PO Box 3304, Church Street Station, New York 10008-3304. 212-868-1121. ★ John Hansen, 302 Avenue C, Brooklyn 11218. ★ Henry Pfaff, Delegate, 77 Eckhart, Buffalo 14207. 716-877-6073. ★ Robert Young, Delegate, Box 920, Wingdale 12594. ★ Joe O'Shea, Delegate, Winkler's Farm, Towner's Road, Carmel 10512.

**OHIO.** Southwest Ohio General Membership Branch and General Defense Committee, PO Box 26381, Dayton 45426.

**PENNSYLVANIA.** Tom Hill, Delegate, Box 41928, Philadelphia 19101.

**SOUTH CAROLINA.** Harbinger Publications I.U. 450 Job Branch, 18 Bluff Road, Columbia 29201. 803-254-9398.

**TEXAS.** Gilbert Mers, Delegate, 7031 Kernel, Houston 77087. 713-921-0877.

**WASHINGTON.** Bellingham General Membership Branch, Box 1386, Bellingham 98227. ★ Seattle General Membership Branch, 3238 33rd Avenue South, Seattle 98144. ★ Spokane IWW Group, PO Box 1273, Spokane 99210. ★ Tacoma/Olympia General Membership Branch, 2115 South Sheridan, Tacoma 98405. 206-272-8119.

**WISCONSIN.** Madison General Membership Branch, 1846 Jenifer, Madison 53704. 608-251-1937 or 249-4287.

## Australia

Delegate, 417 King Street (1st Floor), Newton, Sydney.

## Canada

Vancouver General Membership Branch, PO Box 65635, Station F, Vancouver, B.C. V5N 5K5. Toronto General Membership Branch, 20 Kensington Place, Toronto, Ontario M56 2K4. Phone c/o Blackbird Design (416) 591-7577. Robin Oye, Delegate, 16 Wellington St. South, Kitchener, Ontario N2G 2E5. J.B. McAndrew, Delegate, 7216 Mary Avenue (1204), Burnaby V5E 3K5.

## Great Britain

Delegate, 13 Wolsey Street off Heslington Road, York, YO 5BQ, England.

**WOBBLY T-SHIRTS AVAILABLE**  
The San Francisco GMB is selling bright red Wobbly T-shirts with a black logo and "Industrial Workers of the World" on them. They have some small, some medium, and lots of large and extra large. They're asking \$10 plus postage.

# SOLIDARITY FOREVER!

## IWW BRANCH NEWS

### SHREVEPORT

Louisiana Wobs have been active in efforts to remove Confederate flags from public buildings (see article in this issue) and members of the Shreveport IWW Group are gearing up for an International Labor Day commemoration on the First of May. A while back some of us had the pleasure of meeting an old-timer here, a Black worker who was active in the IWW Brotherhood of Timber Workers in the 1910s. It was impressive hearing what he had to say about the great "Lumber Wars" of those days. Interestingly, he had held onto his copy of the *Little Red Songbook* all through the years. Meeting him gave us all a strong sense of the historic continuity of our movement. The struggle continues!



### ATLANTA

Wobblies in Atlanta and environs have been spreading the message of Revolutionary Industrial Unionism here for the last eight months or so, and the response to leafleting at jobsites and on the streets has been positive even though not many fellow workers have as yet busted the doors down to get initiated. Numerous contacts have been made with community activists and plans are afoot to endorse and work with the Jobs For Justice campaign. The recent "March for the Homeless" here in Atlanta was a media-event/charade overall, but proved beneficial in bringing together workers who have lost home and livelihood to the ravages of a feudal economic system. Many of them have applauded the idea of One Big Union. This worker wishes to express his sincere thanks to Fellow Worker Louis Burcar, a member of this union since the Briggs strike in Detroit of 1932. His unfailing encouragement and incomparable experience has been an inspiration to me. With such veterans as FW Burcar, we can not fail to build the new society from within the shell of the old.

Phillip Harris X334479



### CHICAGO

The Chicago IWW Branch is organizing a May Day "Speak Out" in Lincoln Park, in cooperation with the Socialist Party, Workers' Education Local 189 and several other groups. Local Wobs are also joining Earth First!, Greenpeace, and other groups in an Earthday Festival April 22nd.

The Theatre Oobleck group has moved en masse to Chicago from Ann Arbor, where several of its members have been active in the IWW University Cellar I.U. 660 Job Branch. Theatre Oobleck is presenting "Godzilla vs. Lent" at the Cabaret Voltaire, 1860 N. Elston, April 14 through May 5. Call (312) 871-5841 or 489-7792 for further details.

### IW SUSTAINING FUND

\$25 in memory of Vaughan Chorlian & \$25 in memory of Robert "Blackie" Vaughan, from X18; \$20 from Michael Behan; \$2 from John Smith; \$126 from Warren Burnett; \$70 from John Spitzberg; \$2.50 from Robert Young; \$24 from Fred Hansen Jr.; \$10 from Tacoma-Olympia GMB; \$20 in memory of Paul Ware from Maurice Anderson; \$10 from Ralph Preston; \$10 from William Johanson; \$135 from Don Calloway; \$11.50 from Phil Ames; \$5 from Lisa Sieracki; \$4 from Bernie Hesse; \$6 from Robert Payne; \$4 from Rose Papa; \$1.50 from Lynn Harris; \$6 from David Beringer; \$11 from Jim Singluff; \$4 from Richard Logan; \$7.50 from Ruby Peterson; \$11 from Jonathan Ratila; \$7.50 from Minneapolis-St. Paul GMB; \$10 from David Roediger.

Thank You Fellow Workers,  
Your Generosity Is  
Truly Appreciated

### DENVER-BOULDER

Denver-Boulder IWW members are participating in a demonstration of solidarity with our fellow workers in South Africa. The demonstration has taken the form of a shantytown built in the middle of the University of Colorado campus to protest the Regents' investment in firms operating in South Africa. The shantytown and the 70-100 people who spend every night there aren't leaving until the Regents divest!

Paul Filson from the ACLU and the National Labor Committee spoke at the IWW hall in Denver about his solidarity work with the Guatemala City Coca-Cola workers. It seems that the corporate campaign waged by workers across this country and others against Coca-Cola have been successful in bringing the bosses to the table in Guatemala.

John McCutcheon will play at the Hi-Lo in Boulder April 22nd for a benefit organized by the Denver-Boulder GMB. Proceeds will go to support P-9.



### VANCOUVER

Vancouver Wobs screened the third and fourth videos in the Apartheid Series on March 17th. Speaking at the event was Anna Riopel, a South African refugee and veteran of the 1960 Sharpeville massacre.

Plans for the annual May Day sit down event have been finalized, and will include a sit down dinner at Ukrainian Hall and a performance following to feature Tacoma's Citizen's Band, who performed at last year's Vancouver Conference. Among other planned events, the Vancouver Branch plans to hold an orientation program for new members and delegates on April 13th, with the stated purpose of "demystifying the delegate system."



### TORONTO

The Toronto Branch reports that membership continues to grow, as continued activity brings more and more people into contact with the aims and principles of the One Big Union.

Toronto Wobs distributed IWW literature at the International Women's Day festivities on March 5, and again at the Union Fair at the Ryerson Polytechnical Institute on March 9. Additionally, the Branch has organized Defense, Education, and Organizing Committees, and continues its ongoing support action on behalf of the striking Lily Cup workers.

As we go to press, we've learned that as part of an effort to prevent an expected rent increase in the building that houses the offices of Blackbird Graphics, members of the Branch have "occupied" the building (look for details in next month's IW).

### Preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World

THE WORKING CLASS AND THE EMPLOYING CLASS HAVE NOTHING IN COMMON! THERE CAN BE NO PEACE SO LONG AS HUNGER AND WANT ARE FOUND AMONG MILLIONS OF WORKING PEOPLE AND THE FEW, WHO MAKE UP THE EMPLOYING CLASS, HAVE ALL THE GOOD THINGS OF LIFE.

BETWEEN THESE TWO CLASSES A STRUGGLE MUST GO ON UNTIL THE WORKERS OF THE WORLD ORGANIZE AS A CLASS, TAKE POSSESSION OF THE EARTH AND THE MACHINERY OF PRODUCTION, AND ABOLISH THE WAGE SYSTEM.

WE FIND THAT THE CENTERING OF THE MANAGEMENT OF INDUSTRIES INTO FEWER AND FEWER HANDS MAKES THE TRADE UNIONS UNABLE TO COPE WITH THE EVER GROWING POWER OF THE EMPLOYING CLASS. THE TRADE UNIONS FOSTER A STATE OF AFFAIRS WHICH ALLOWS ONE SET OF WORKERS TO BE PITTED AGAINST ANOTHER SET OF WORKERS IN THE SAME INDUSTRY, THEREBY HELPING ONE ANOTHER IN WAGE WARS. MOREOVER, THE TRADE UNIONS LEAD THE EMPLOYING CLASS TO MISLEAD THE WORKERS INTO THE BELIEF THAT THE WORKING CLASS HAVE INTERESTS IN COMMON WITH THEIR EMPLOYERS.

THESE CONDITIONS CAN BE CHANGED AND THE INTEREST OF THE WORKING CLASS UPHOLD ONLY BY AN ORGANIZATION FORMED IN SUCH A WAY THAT ALL ITS MEMBERS IN ANY ONE INDUSTRY, OR IN ALL INDUSTRIES IF NECESSARY, CEASE WORK WHENEVER A STRIKE OR LOCKOUT IS ON IN ANY DEPARTMENT THEREOF, THIS HAVING AN INJURY TO ONE AN INJURY TO ALL.

INSTEAD OF THE CONSERVATIVE MOTTO, "A FAIR DAY'S WAGE FOR FAIR DAY'S WORK," WE MUST INSCRIBE ON OUR BANNER THE REVOLUTIONARY WATCHWORD, "ABOLITION OF THE WAGE SYSTEM."

IT IS THE HISTORIC MISSION OF THE WORKING CLASS TO DO AWAY WITH CAPITALISM. THE ARMY OF PRODUCTION MUST BE ORGANIZED, NOT ONLY FOR THE EVERY-DAY STRUGGLE WITH CAPITALISTS, BUT ALSO TO CARRY ON PRODUCTION WHEN CAPITALISM SHALL HAVE BEEN OVERTHROWN. BY ORGANIZING INDUSTRIALLY WE ARE FORMING THE STRUCTURE OF THE NEW SOCIETY WITHIN THE SHELL OF THE OLD.



# BOOKS

## FOR REBEL WORKERS

### IWW PUBLICATIONS

- ☐ One Big Union (*about the IWW*) . . . . . 1.25
- ☐ The General Strike (*by Ralph Chaplin*) . . . 2.50
- ☐ IWW Songs: The Little Red Songbook . . . 2.50
- ☐ Collective Bargaining Manual . . . . . 2.50
- ☐ Workers' Guide to Direct Action . . . . . .35
- ☐ Unions and Racism . . . . . 1.00
- ☐ Metal Workers' Health & Safety . . . . . 50
- ☐ A Quiz on You and the Arms Race . . . . . 10
- ☐ The IWW: Its First Seventy Years  
by Fred Thompson cloth 15.00; paper 4.95
- ☐ Joe Hill: IWW Songwriter . . . . . 1.00
- ☐ History of the IWW in Canada . . . . . 50
- ☐ The Rebel Girl (*sheet music*) . . . . . 1.00
- ☐ We Have Fed You All for 1000 Years  
(LP record/IWW songs—no discount) 8.50
- ☐ IWW Preamble and Constitution . . . . . 1.00

### IWW POSTERS by Carlos Cortez

- ☐ Lucy Parsons ☐ Joe Hill ☐ General Strike
- ☐ Fat Cat ☐ Huelga General ☐ Draftees of the World, Unite ☐ Ben Fletcher \$10 each postpaid

### IWW BUTTONS

- ☐ Build Militant Unionism . . . . . 75
- ☐ For More of the Good Things of Life . . . . . 75

### BOOKS FROM OTHER PUBLISHERS

- ☐ The Yale Strike of 1984-85. . . . . 5.95
- ☐ Roll the Union On: Pictorial History of Southern Tenant Farmers' Union  
by H. L. Mitchell. . . . . 7.95
- ☐ Bye! American—Labor Cartoons by Gary Huck & Mike Konopacki . . . 7.95
- ☐ Memoirs of a Wobbly by Henry McGuckin 5.95
- ☐ Haymarket Scrapbook. . . . . 14.95
- ☐ Haymarket Postcards (*set of 28*) . . . 12.00
- ☐ Altgeld's Reasons for Pardoning the Haymarket Anarchists . . . . . 3.95
- ☐ Crime and Criminals by C. Darrow. . . 2.50
- ☐ You Have No Country! Workers' Struggle Against War by Mary E. Marcy . . . . 4.50
- ☐ Dreams and Dynamite  
(poems by Covington Hall) . . . . . 3.95
- ☐ Mr. Block: 24 IWW Cartoons  
by Ernest Riebe. . . . . 4.95
- ☐ Life & Deeds of Uncle Sam  
by Oscar Ameringer. . . . . 3.95
- ☐ Rise and Repression of Radical Labor . . 3.95
- ☐ The Flivver King: A Story of Ford-America  
by Upton Sinclair (50th Anniversary Ed.) 7.95
- ☐ Lucy Parsons: American Revolutionary . . 6.95
- ☐ Autobiography of Mother Jones . . . . 7.95
- ☐ The Right to Be Lazy by Paul Lafargue . . 2.75
- ☐ The Head-Fixing Industry by J. Keracher . 3.00
- ☐ The Soul of Man Under Socialism  
by Oscar Wilde. . . . . 3.95
- ☐ The Life of Thomas Skidmore. . . . . 3.95
- ☐ Labor Law for the Rank-and-File . . . . 2.50
- ☐ Didactic Verse by Henry Pfaff  
(IWW humor). . . . . 2.00
- ☐ Proceedings of IWW Founding Convention  
cloth 15.00

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- ☐ Out of the Depths (best book on the Ludlow Massacre), \$10 postpaid from Gary Cox, P.O. Box 478, Johnstown CO. 80534. Checks payable to Colorado Labor Forum. (All proceeds to P-9.)
- ☐ A Worker's Guide to Direct Action.  
50¢ from N. Y. IWW, P.O. Box 183, NY 10028.
- ☐ Introduction to the IWW.  
10¢ each; bulk rate 40%, prepaid, from San Francisco IWW, P.O. Box 40485, San Francisco, California 94140.
- ☐ Solidarity Bulletin (monthly publication)  
\$10/year from Vancouver IWW, PO Box 65635, Station F, Vancouver, B.C. Canada V5N 3K5
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Cesar Chavez

Wobs joined thousands of other protesters in direct action campaign at Nevada's Nuclear Test Site. For details see NEVADA, page 1.

## REBEL VOICES IS COMING! JOYCE KORNBLUH SPEAKING TOUR

The long-awaited new and expanded edition of Joyce Kornbluh's classic *Rebel Voices: An IWW Anthology* is now at the printer and will be ready by May Day as the author commences an international tour to promote the book and the Wobbly cause.

First published in 1964 and long out of print, the lavishly illustrated *Rebel Voices* is widely recognized as the most comprehensive as well as the most beautiful book on the IWW. This new edition, published by the Charles H. Kerr Co. in Chicago, America's oldest labor publisher, contains much new material, including an introduction and updated bibliography by the late Fred Thompson, dozens of new illustrations, and a useful index.

Copies of the book will be on hand when Joyce Kornbluh delivers the April 29 keynote address at the Colorado Labor Forum's upcoming conference (see "Calling All Wobs" in this issue). On Friday May 5th San Francisco's famous City Lights Bookstore will host an IWW sing-out and *Rebel Voices* book party (phone 415/362-8193 for details).

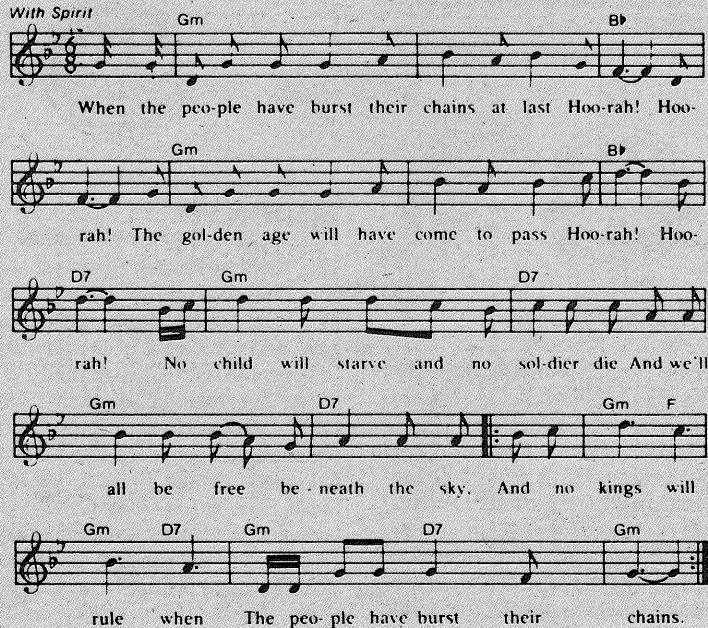
The author's itinerary also includes Washington D.C. May 14-16; Boston May 18-20; Stockholm, Sweden and London, England in October; and Seattle November 17-20.

IWW Branches and friends who would like to have Joyce Kornbluh as a speaker are urged to call IWW headquarters (312/549-5045) or the Kerr Co. (312/465-7774) for further information.

Copies of *Rebel Voices* may be ordered from the IWW for \$18.95.

### When the People Have Burst Their Chains (Tune: When Johnny Comes Marching Home)

With Spirit



When the workers begin to organize  
Hoorah! Hoorah!  
The boss will be in for a big surprise  
Hoorah! Hoorah!  
With workers' hearts and workers' arms  
We'll seize the factories and the farms  
And we'll all be free  
When the workers have organized.



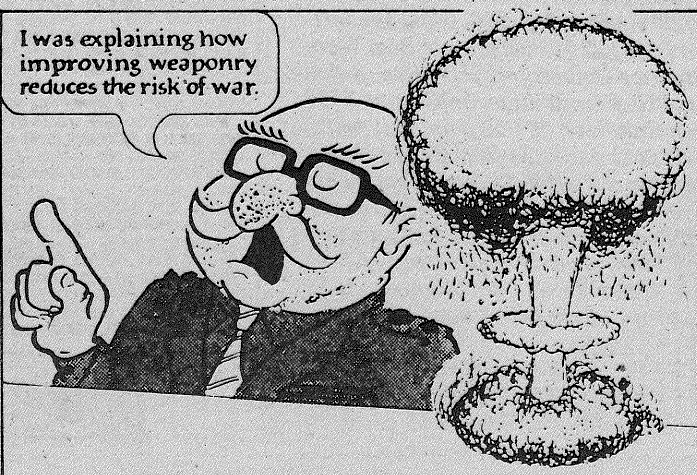
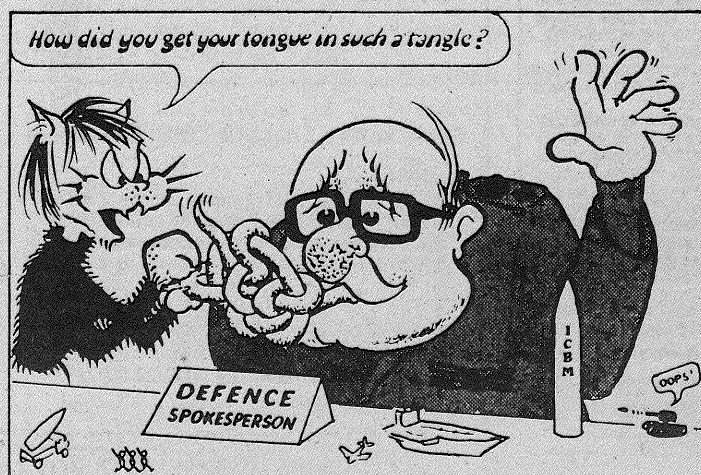
## NEVADA

cont from page 1

Many Wobblies both young and old were present, organizing for the One Big Union and conveying our support of direct action for social change. Fellow worker Marty Lucas of Coos Bay, Oregon, a veteran of the IWW copper mine strikes of the '30s was pitching in for American Peace Test, the sponsoring organization for the activities, as a peacekeeper. Over 1000 copies of *Industrial Worker* were passed out or sold in a single day, and the Denver-Boulder Branch proudly displayed its red and black IWW banner at the main rally.

Government response to the action has yet to be reported. On Mother's Day, May 8, the campaign to end the arms race and stop nuclear testing will continue at the Nevada Test Site, the Cape Kennedy missile launch pad in Florida, the Pantex nuclear bomb assembly plant at Panhandle, Texas, and at Project ELF (Extremely Low Frequency) - the world's one-day death sentence communications system at Clam Lake, Wisconsin. Simultaneous Mother's Day actions will also occur at Calcutta, Helsinki, Hiroshima, and many other cities world-wide to restore Julia Ward Howe's original meaning and message of Mother's Day: "Do not let our sons go to war."

Joel Lewis  
Colorado Branch Correspondent



Donald Rorum, Freedom (London)